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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

May-June, 1946

CULTURE TRAITS OF PARAGUAY INDIANS*

WILLIAM KIRK

Pomona College

● The land-locked Republic of Paraguay, situated in the heart of South America and bounded by Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil, is a strange land inhabited by a mixture of Spanish and Indian people. It has an area of 175,000 square miles and a population that is estimated to be 1,000,000. The language of the common people is Guaraní, the dialect of an ancient Indian tribe now almost extinct, and among the tribes generally Guaraní is spoken where Spanish is not understood. The monetary unit also is called the Guaraní. Here in the Paraguay Chaco, and also in the wooded hills of the north, live tribes of pre-literate Indians, who resemble our North American Indians in some respects and the Peruvian Indians in others.

Soon after the coming of the white man, with his fire-arms and his diseases, the defenseless Indians in diminishing numbers were driven farther and farther away from the white settlements into the more desolate regions, and here they have managed to survive to the present day, fighting a losing battle against the inroads of civilization, but gradually adjusting themselves more or less to the ways of the white man.

An adequate sociological background of each tribe is difficult to assemble, for there have been many feuds among the separate groups for centuries. Inter-marriage has taken place to such an extent that we must depend largely upon tribal dress, manners, and customs to deter-

*The writer wishes to acknowledge the helpful cooperation of General Juan Belaieff of Asunción in the preparation of this article.

mine the origin and relationship of the different native families in the Chaco. The high rate of illegitimacy adds to the confusion.

The Plains Indians wear large earrings made from the trunk of the willow tree, tinted purple on the inside and adorned with a metal plate or sometimes with feathers. Their garments consist of ostrich plumes and red, white, and blue beadwork with variations according to the age, sex, and social position of the wearer. The Forest Indians decorate themselves with garments of seed, with teeth and claws, and cover their heads with a helmet woven from feathers corresponding to the emblem of their totem. Some tribes cling tenaciously to their modest palm tree ranches, their irrigated acres, their cows and sheep; but strangely enough many seem willing to change their non-material culture—their religion, speech, and proper names—although in time they usually return to the old and familiar.

Other tribes, like the Maccá or Chulupí, have a love for the open field and the unbroken plains. For them the woods are but a temporary protection and a refuge, whereas the Forest Indians, like the Moros or the Chamacoco, depend upon the woods for shelter and food, coming out into the open for short periods only and at infrequent intervals.

The center of Indian life is the fire. The origin of fire and of cooking is the theme of many legends and tales. The Chamacoco attribute the theft of fire from heaven to the progenitor of their race, whom they call Eshir. This tribe still uses the ancient method of getting fire from a piece of "Eslabón Payaguá." The Indian cooking is about the same in the different Chaco tribes. The game is cut in strips and placed on inclined stakes which encircle the fire in front of the hut. Roots, beans, and grains of corn are toasted in the ashes. Palm cabbage is prepared in a huge pit or oven dug in the soil with the bottom covered

with live coals. Palm branches are used for protection and the whole is covered with earth for several hours. The big turtle and the armadillo are likewise prepared in these open ovens or fried in their own hide. Whenever a kettle is available or some native pottery, the Indians like to boil the bird or fish whole, or they boil large pieces of meat to get a condensed broth. After a successful hunting or fishing expedition they smoke the game upon specially prepared tables.

The relatively poor Lengua Indians, armed only with bows and arrows, are glad to eat snakes, along with the tail of the alligator and the big lizard.

The Indian women smoke strong cigars, as do the Paraguay women generally. The children begin to smoke cigarettes at a very early age. The alcoholic drink *chicha* is popular in Paraguay as well as in Peru and Bolivia. Yerba maté, from which another favorite drink is made, is a species of holly (*Ilex paraguayensis*) from the leaves of which a tealike beverage is prepared. Boiling water is poured over the pulverized leaves to make the tea, which is sucked up through a silver tube with a mouthpiece at one end and a small perforated ball on the other. The general effects are those of tea or coffee. The beverage is largely used by miners and other heavy workers to refresh them when fatigued. The habit once formed is difficult to break. Men, women, and children of all ages drink their maté regularly and seem to derive much satisfaction from the habit. The writer invariably found a good-natured, contented Indian whenever he met one drinking this popular beverage. Among the writer's collection of Indian artifacts is a carved silver bowl resting on a tripod with gracefully carved legs, probably used by one of the chiefs for drinking maté. This is one of the very few examples of fine, artistic craftsmanship to be found today among the Chaco Indians.

In the poorly housed and meagerly equipped museum at Asunción, there is a valuable collection of huge burial

urns, which clearly indicates that the Paraguay Indians had a higher culture in years gone by than they now possess. This lower standard of living is largely due to the lack of interest and neglect on the part of the government. Indian blood apparently carries with it a certain social taint in Paraguay, and no self-respecting Paraguayan cares to admit that he has any Indian blood in his veins. And this in the face of the fact that most people in Paraguay are partly of Indian descent.

The Indians, in consequence, grow up ignorant, neglected, and unable to adjust themselves satisfactorily to the Paraguayan world. Scholars tell us that these natives originally were slaves of the Incas, to whom they are closely related. Their art forms and designs and many words in common use are distinctly Inca in origin. The whole situation is made more deplorable because public education generally is woefully backward and inadequate. Pupils are expected to memorize, not to analyze. In the common school textbooks, there appears a phrase which has a familiar ring: "If you have been born in Paraguay, you are among the chosen people."

In the Chaco villages, when an Indian girl has reached the age of puberty, she becomes of special interest to the whole tribe. Throughout most of one night the women dance around the girl and prepare her for the marriage rites which are soon to be. The women beat the tom-toms to call the eligible bachelors from neighboring villages. According to those who are in a position to know, this is the only occasion on which the women are permitted to beat the drums. The message is clear: The maiden is ready for marriage and awaits her husband. When one of the assembled warriors decides to take the girl, the ensuing marriage usually is permanent, and the parties to the union are generally faithful to each other. Descent is traced through the father, as the patriarchal system prevails.

When an Indian girl becomes pregnant she scrupulously observes the taboos which custom imposes upon her. She does not smoke for fear that her baby will be injured. She remains continent and follows a rigid diet. Generally she gives birth to her child without much pain, and a few hours after the birth she is walking about with the infant in her arms. The writer had the experience of greeting such a mother two days after her baby was born. She was standing in front of her primitive hut holding her baby in the usual manner, smiling happily and apparently in good health. When the camera started to click, the mother hastily threw a blanket over the baby's head and disappeared inside her dwelling. In this reaction she was following the custom of all primitive communities in trying to protect her offspring from the evil spell which picture-making is supposed to cast over little folks. Grown men and women know how to ward off the curse, but infants are defenseless.

If the baby is a girl, often she is a victim of infanticide, which is not an uncommon practice and causes a scarcity of young women in many communities.

As the joys of betrothal, marriage, and childbirth are shared by all, so are the sorrows of illness and death. In some places the old folks, when they can no longer look after themselves, are made drunk with *chicha* or *canya* and then clubbed to death. The body is buried without delay in a secluded part of the thicket. Broken bows and arrows, dogs and horses belonging to the departed must go with him on his last long journey. The widow weeps and wails with her relatives in the lodge, especially in the morning and at midday when her neighbors bring her water and food. The late dwelling place of the deceased is burnt, the occupants move to a new site, and the memory of the dead is held in deep reverence. Even the name of the departed is not to be spoken.

The Indians generally keep their blood pure by infanticide. If a woman bears a child with signs of a non-Indian father, it is killed at once. This drastic policy makes it practically certain that the members of an Indian village are pure Indians. Although marriage as an institution in the Anglo-Saxon sense is nonexistent, the women usually remain true to their mates, as already stated, and there is very little promiscuity. A Paraguay padre told the writer that he frequently traveled through the districts where the Forest and Plains Indians dwell and invariably found many couples living together without benefit of clergy. A not infrequent event was for him to marry the father and mother of a young man at the same time that he married the son and his betrothed. "There are simply not enough padres to go around," he remarked.

The huts of the Plains tribes are made of cactus trunks, and their thatched roofs afford slight protection from heat and rain. Whereas the Plains Indians lead a comparatively carefree existence, as we have seen, the Forest tribes have a hard struggle to make a living. Bound to their permanent homes in the woods, hiding in the most remote part of the thickets, they try to protect their small but well-arranged plantations and orange groves as best they can. Hunger, disease, constant exploitation, and the ever-present fear of persecution make daily work and eternal vigilance necessary. It is not surprising that the self-confidence and the light-heartedness so characteristic of the Plains tribes are missing.

The skin color of the tribes varies from olive and dusky brown to light gold and bronze. The Lenguas are usually yellow like the Asiatic Mongols from whom they are originally descended.

The principal part of the everyday costume is a band passed over the loins, to serve as a loin cloth, skillfully woven from leaves or from softened deerskin to cover the

abdomen and part of the back. More recent trading with the traveling merchants brought manufactured goods to replace the loin cloth with a tunic which reaches to the knees, or with a woolen garment of native pattern which falls to the heels.

The women still wear a softened deer or ostrich skin which covers them from the waist to the knees and is held up by a woolen belt. The Maccá and the Chulupí started the fashion of wearing many small beads—by the men as a necklace and by the women as strings running across the body and passing under their naked breasts. In winter the men wear different-colored blankets, the women wrap themselves in sheepskins. Both men and women wear moccasins of deerskin and bracelets of white ostrich feathers.

In some tribes pottery making is popular, and in other tribes individuals take an interest in basket making and barkwork. Certain tribes specialize in woolens, others in featherwork. Formerly tattooing and painting the face were universal customs among the tribes, and today some of the Plains tribes still continue the practice, whereas it is slowly dying out in other tribes, particularly among the Lenguas. There are several ways of painting the face. The Maccá and Chulupí in addition to extensive tattooing, draw geometrical lines and colored figures on their cheeks. A Chamacoco girl paints her face to indicate puberty. Sometimes the color indicates emotional feeling—red for joy and black for sorrow.

The political organization of these Indian communities is very much the same. Every tribe is somewhat like a regiment made up of all individuals of both sexes and all ages. The ruling class is not easily distinguishable from the common people, for the chief and his official family retain their power, not by hereditary right, but by personal qualities of leadership and moral integrity. When a tribe

is unfortunate enough to lose its ruling class or its nobility, it soon becomes weak and disunited, whereas a wisely ruled tribe holds a position of power and influence among its neighbors. From this nobility usually come the chiefs and the subchiefs. On the other hand, if a man of the common people shows enough tact and wisdom to win a loyal following he is proclaimed the High Chief and is given faithful obedience. In other words, the office of chief is generally held by the outstanding personality in the tribe. In this respect the South American Indians have much in common with their blood relatives in North America.

Preparation for full citizenship is prolonged and arduous. At regular intervals the Forest Indians gather the boys together and impart to them the secret rituals of the tribe and the legends and myths of the past. The tests continue over a period of several weeks and include training in archery and various military exercises. Severe endurance tests are given to develop indifference to pain and hunger and to improve the hardihood of the race.

The Plains Indians prepare their young men for full citizenship by piercing their loins and arms with the sharp point of a deer horn or tiger bone, believing that each painful incision will give the wounded victim something of the swiftness and strength of the wild animals. Completely ignoring the pain, the braves, some of whom are very young, use the blood from the open wound to paint straight lines and geometric figures on their forearms and hips.

Battles between tribes were more frequent in the old days than now. Usually the warriors go to war naked, but each brave dons a helmet or a headgear which corresponds to his totem. The body is carefully painted. As soon as the battle is won, the Indians return to their own villages to receive the plaudits of their kinsfolk. Amid

the sound of war whoops, men and women alike sing their battle songs accompanied by the drums. Then follows the feast, which soon becomes an orgy and lasts until the villagers are helpless from overeating and drinking.

The average intelligence of the Chaco Lengua Indians in Paraguay may not be very high, but some of their hunting practices are clever and ingenious. For example, the creeks of El Gran Chaco are full of alligators, sometimes ten feet long, which provide good hunting for the natives. In the summer season when the waters are low a company of Indians will arm themselves with thick poles about seven feet long, with a two-foot spike of hardwood attached to each pole. The hunters are divided into two groups, which take positions in the river about 250 or 300 feet apart, facing each other. The members of each group string themselves together and form an unbroken line across the river from bank to bank. At a given signal, with their lances held aloft, ready to strike, they slowly advance and close the gap between the two columns, yelling at the top of their voices. As an alligator is speared it is hit on the head with axes and dragged ashore. Shouts of laughter greet the unlucky Indian who is knocked off his balance by a huge alligator which has tried to find a way of escape between his outstretched legs. So the sport continues until the banks are full of squirming, bleeding alligator bodies. The men now return to dry land and start to dismember the reptiles, first cutting off the tail, which is the most delicate portion, and then certain parts of the back, which are greatly relished.¹

When the natives hunt ostrich, deer, and other game they cover themselves from head to foot with branches of small trees and bushes so skillfully that a casual observer at a distance of ten feet would assume that the camouflaged

¹ W. H. Chippendale, "Chaco Indians' Methods of Hunting," *Chambers Journal*, Edinburgh, March, 1937.

hunter is in reality a young tree or bush. Disguised in this manner they are able to approach with drawn bow to within easy shooting distance of their prey. In the presence of the writer, in one village three or four expert deer hunters gave a special exhibition of this art of concealment, which the visitor was able to capture with the aid of the motion picture camera.

These natives are even more skillful in hunting ducks. If the ducks are swimming in shallow water, the Indians will quietly enter the pond or creek some distance away, and, pushing a bunch of river weed and water lilies in front of them, they will draw near to the birds with only their heads above water. So skillful have they become at this sport that they can get sufficiently close to stretch out their hands, grasp a duck by its leg, pull it under the water, and wring its neck without alarming the other birds. One experienced observer informed the writer that he had known Indians to "bag seven ducks one after the other in this way." When an Indian hears the whistle of a partridge, he locates the general position of the bird and then starts trotting around it in ever smaller circles until he suddenly spots it. Then if he is within throwing distance, he will hurl his throwing stick with deadly accuracy. The Lenguas say that this method of approach hypnotizes the bird.

The older men have a lazier but no less effective way of hunting. They just sit smoking their pipes or drinking maté in front of their village shelters until the storks or the herons begin to fly homeward at the close of the day. Then they will take a firm grip on their throwing sticks and with sure aim knock down at least one bird for their evening meal.

In most of the Chaco today birds and fish are so bountiful that the natives, in sharp contrast to the Forest Indians, may lead a comparatively easy life. They need never go hungry, and to all appearances, especially in the villages,

they are happy and full of fun. The writer was surprised on more than one occasion when visiting a forlorn and depressed-looking Lengua village to find the natives, old and young alike, well-fed and good-natured, especially the numerous children, who were bubbling over with energy and the spirit of play.

Besides the world of the living, in the belief of the Paraguay Indians there is another world, peopled by spirits who are in close touch with the medicine men of the different tribes. These spirits are usually malevolent, so the witch doctor in each community sleeps during the day that he may remain on guard during the night against their evil practices. Everyone in fact has a spirit which looks exactly like him and wears the same clothes. When a Lengua or a Maccá greets a stranger he will probably ask, "Are you yourself or are you your spirit?" If the answer is, "I am not my spirit, I am myself," the newcomer is greeted cordially and escorted to the village, where he is left alone to enjoy a rest period after his tiresome journey. When a suitable time has passed, questioning may begin and an animated conversation may soon develop.

If the proper answer is not given, the stranger is urged to depart at the earliest moment, for fear of spirits and the spirit world is universal. The legends that have grown up in connection with their belief in witchcraft are passed on from generation to generation. The river, for example, was in bygone days haunted by a monster described as a hippopotamus with horns, and there, when the water is high, the spirits of naked men and women, protected by long matted hair, are sometimes seen today catching fish.

The big crocodile as stout as a tree trunk is dramatically described, and the Star snake, sparkling in the darkness, which runs the rapids of the river. Then there are the Endless Serpent, resembling a rope, which brings disease and death to the onlooker, and the big anaconda in the

swamps with a horn on her tail where she carries her human or animal victims. The whirlwind spirit which dances in the sand under a cloudy sky and the sylvan maid who disports herself with the nymphs on the grass at night are both particularly dangerous.

There are birds which foretell the arrival of pigs (wild pigs are a great nuisance to the villagers). Other birds warn of danger when the white man is near. Some birds announce the approach of kinsfolk by singing, "The brethren are coming" while the big owl says, "Beware, I am bringing spirits to harm you."

In spite of the proverbial stolidity of the Indian character those who know the natives best claim that they are naturally as sensitive to every emotion and feeling as the white man. The authorities say that the heart of an Indian is tender and sympathetic. Many possess what is termed "second sight." Medicine men, for example, foretell events and feel the presence of tribesmen who are far away. Some of the better minds hold a belief in a distant Land of Bliss in the far west where all Indians will be reunited in the Happy Hunting Ground under the rule of their Mighty Spirits. This fundamental faith held by a few choice minds is not revealed to others except in the brief tragic moment when the body hovers between life and death. Thus the deepest thoughts of the race are mostly confined to a chosen few.

Before the coming of the white man, life in the village communities was simple and well balanced. The young people hunted the deer and the pigs which roamed about in a wild state. The women kept the pots filled with water from the near-by creeks and rivers and kept an ample stock of hardwood for fuel. The entire population at certain seasons went to pick and bring home the fruits, which everyone ate with keen relish. In fact, there was plenty of fresh fruit three times each year. During most

of the time, the otherwise unemployed cleared and tilled small plots of ground for agriculture. Melons, water-melons, gourds, and beans were grown on the wet, grassy bottom land. On other ground, maize, native potatoes, white and yellow corn were planted, and in some districts even tobacco was grown. Sheep, goats, cows, and horses must be added to complete this picture of the food quest. The sheep provided the raw material for the rich cloaks and belts which, even today, are woven with great skill by the Chulupí, Maccá, Mascoy, and Lengua women. The writer found that these native belts in brilliant colors and ingenious designs are readily sold today at good prices in the curio shops of Buenos Aires, Cordoba, and Asunción.

When civilization reached the Monte and the pampas, bringing the tannin industry, along with the missions, and the garrisons which in turn brought hostile troops and their mechanized equipment at the outbreak of the Paraguay-Bolivian war, the simple life of the native Indian underwent a radical change. The Indians who took part in the conflict, mostly against their will, have been forced to leave their homes on several occasions, have lost all their livestock, cattle, mules, and horses in the process, and have faced extreme hunger.

The Chulupí, neighbors of the Lengua, probably suffered the most, although the Lengua villages in the path of marching troops likewise felt the devastation of war. Not the least of the war afflictions were the plagues of smallpox and the venereal diseases which the soldiers introduced. In the face of these disasters the more thoughtful minds of the tribe felt the grave need of better farming as the only way to survive, and today various tribes are cultivating enough land to provide them with food supplies for one year ahead. Improved seeds and tools have been introduced and new methods of cultivation have been

used. The northern tribes are eking out a bare existence working as woodcutters or common laborers. Other tribes are more successful in applying modern methods to food production on their small plantations.

Today the Indians who are not engaged in industry, woodcutting or cattle raising, as a rule, bring the following articles to sell in the market towns: skins of tigers, panthers, otter, water hog, and deer; ostrich feathers,² blankets, and belts of all sizes, lengths, and shapes; bags, nets, hammocks; baskets, bows, arrows, etc. The Indians exchange these native products for yerba maté, tobacco, salt, matches, soap, gunpowder, hatchets, hunting knives, spades, shovels, and saws. The trading posts are of various kinds and are found wherever white men gather. Unfortunately, away from their native villages the Indians fall easy prey to the shrewd traders, who ply them with *canya*, a strong alcoholic drink, and take unfair advantage of their inexperience as merchants.

In the light of all these economic and social conditions, there is little wonder that the Chaco Indians, bewildered and more or less demoralized, do not respond with enthusiasm to the opportunities which civilization brings. The words which the kindly and well-intentioned missionaries speak have little meaning except as they are accompanied by personal examples of courage, self-sacrifice, and moral integrity. The good will, the friendly service, the neighborly helpfulness so necessary to win the confidence and loyalty of the natives are singularly lacking today wherever the paths of whites and Indians cross. The future of the native race in Paraguay is anything but bright.

² One day the writer visited a Lengua village not far from Asunción, the capital of Paraguay. He met a number of the officials. The following day, on the streets of the capital he recognized one of the Indians with whom he had talked the day before. The Lengua had his arms filled with ostrich feathers which he planned to sell in the near-by public market. He was dressed in native costume and was attracting as much attention as a Sioux Indian would attract on the streets of any American city.

LABOR UNDER REVIEW

July, 1944 - December, 1945

MELVIN J. VINCENT

The University of Southern California

● World-shaking events marked the eighteen-month period of industrial activities to be reviewed in this article. The period began just as the Democratic and Republican conventions were getting under way to nominate their presidential candidates. It ended with the nation in a turmoil of anxiety over a promised show-down, knock-out fight between big business and big unionism. It had seen great Franklin Delano Roosevelt elected for a fourth presidential term. It had wept when that gallant warrior died after serving only a few months of his new term. It had witnessed the accession of the new President, Harry S. Truman. It had glorified V-E day, heard the awful implications of the atomic bomb, hailed V-J day, and had prepared to enjoy reconversion by celebrating with new homes, new cars, new radios, and new gadgets. The celebration never quite came off. The approaching roar of the hurricane on the industrial front brought about a rude awakening.

The awakening should have been neither rude nor surprising. Warning signals had long been up that both big business and big labor had been waiting for the "day." The little man in the street had heard, but not paid too much attention to whisperings. Labor had been coddled long enough. It had become aggravatingly aggressive. Big business had been indulging in a field day with profits. It was growing irritatingly impatient with governmental controls. The little man was so naïve as to think that the whisperings meant little. When the war ended, everyone would be sighing with relief. The storm had been weathered.

Then the first blasts of the hurricane swirled about the little man, and he realized that the whisperings had been warning signals. He became somewhat confused. His confusion was not eased when he found both sides appealing to him for support. Would he stand by and watch "free enterprise" strangled by ruthless labor leaders drunk with new power? Did he want to encourage "fascism" in the masquerade of a Wall Street financier? He only knew that this constant agitation was keeping him from getting the things he had been promised and was longing for—that new car, that new radio, or some tender meat and a little butter. The plague-on-both-your-houses feeling overtook him as he settled down to read his evening newspaper. There he could read the advertisements of General Motors appealing to him, the messages of labor leaders on the merits of the case of unionism in its fight to retain war-time gains, and the plans of the governmental agencies to stem the rising cost of living. And none of these gave him serenity of mind.

Serenity was not one of the characteristics of the period. The industrial events of the whole period if charted would show a continually ascending line of conflict. At certain points, the line might level off to indicate a few bright spots, but at the end might even be blurred to illustrate the present confusion. However, the few bright spots may yet have the distinction of being examined more closely in some saner day in the future. As in the preceding chronologies¹ the events listed here were chosen from reports gathered from newspapers, newsweeklies, labor journals and papers, and the remarks of radio news broadcasters and commentators. The items represent what seemed to the writer the most significant occurrences in the field of industrial relations from July, 1944, to January 1, 1946.

¹ Cf. "Labor under Review," *Sociology and Social Research*, 27:31-39; 28:103-11; 29:96-104.

JULY, 1944

The C.I.O. girds itself for the 1944 presidential race by backing the formation of a National Citizens Political Action Committee to support President Roosevelt for a fourth term. (C.I.O.'s own Political Action Committee had been formed in July, 1943.) The P.A.C. publishes a "Political Primer for All Americans," which defines politics as "the science of how who gets what, when and why."

United Steelworkers press for a guaranteed annual wage plan.

Wide reports that industry has an all-time high working capital of 43 billions, marking a gain of $1\frac{1}{2}$ billions in a three-month period.

Number of strikes since December 7, 1941, with the no-strike pledge in vogue, set at about 10,000.

AUGUST, 1944

War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes sets employment ceilings on all industries, both war and nonwar, in preparation for the big offensive against Nazi Germany.

Organized labor talks louder and louder in its demands for the breaking of the Little Steel Formula, insisting that the cost of living has risen by 45 per cent.

SEPTEMBER, 1944

United Auto Workers, biggest union in the U.S., votes on rescinding its no-strike pledge. Result: Votes to uphold pledge until its 1,095,538 workers can be canvassed.

President Roosevelt seizes a war-essential plant in Minneapolis, the 21st seizure of industrial plants in wartime.

War Labor Board reports to the President that its survey of the cost of living shows the cost to be greater than the 24.5 per cent increase reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

At United Mineworkers Convention, John L. Lewis attempts to turn the miners against Roosevelt, but the Convention neatly refuses to endorse any candidate.

OCTOBER, 1944

The War Labor Board by an 8-to-4 vote refuses to put aside the Little Steel Formula. A fact-finding panel of the Board is at work on application of the United Steelworkers' Union for a 17¢-an-hour pay increase.

The C.I.O. sets out to win the churches and issues a pamphlet entitled *Labor and Religion*. Dr. Dwight Bradley of the Congregational Church had been named previously as C.I.O.'s religious representative.

NOVEMBER, 1944

Labor's great and good friend, Franklin D. Roosevelt, elected for a fourth term and the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee celebrates.

Three states—Arkansas, California, and Florida—vote on a proposal to outlaw the closed shop. Proposition adopted in Arkansas and Florida, but defeated in California.

President's Committee on Cost of Living reports a rise of 30 per cent in cost from January 1, 1941, to September 1, 1944. Labor insists the rise has been 43 per cent.

DECEMBER, 1944

The Cooperatives of the U.S. celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Cooperative Movement by reporting an annual business of over thirty-two million dollars and organizing the International Cooperative Trading and Manufacturing Association for World Trade.

War Labor Board rejects application of Steelworkers' Union for 17¢ increase but grants better vacation schedules, more pay for night shifts, and proposes further study on guaranteed annual wage.

Press of the U.S. surprised that Harry Bridges, once in danger of being deported as an undesirable, should, as leader of West Coast's longshoremen, sign a contract calling for no strikes or lockouts for three years, war or no war.

C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. in annual conventions at Chicago and New Orleans, respectively. C.I.O. goes on record in favor of Henry Wallace's 60,000,000 postwar jobs, breaking of Little Steel Formula, and no reductions in take-home pay as war-overtime pay is eliminated. The A.F. of L. hits at Russian participation in the forthcoming London International Labor Conference.

Montgomery Ward's Sewell Avery refuses to obey a War Labor Board order and that Board sets a deadline for compliance.

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins suggests that such agencies as the N.W.L.B., the N.L.R.B., the N.R.L.P., and the F.E.P.C. be placed in the Department of Labor.

Number of strikes and lockouts for 1944 estimated as 4,956, involving 2,115,637 workers. The National Labor Relations Board conducted 317 strike-voting ballots under the Smith-Connally Act. The War Labor Board was concerned with 1,629 strikes, 75 per cent of which were concerned with wage rates.

JANUARY, 1945

President Roosevelt seizes Montgomery Ward for the second time in seven months for refusing to obey a War Labor Board order. Sewell Avery calls the action arbitrary, coercive, and illegal.

The aircraft industry in five years of war ascends from 40th to 1st place in industrial output. Two million workers turned out planes worth twenty billions.

Fourteen and one-third millions of workers now employed under collective bargaining contracts. Embrace 40 per cent of all workers employed in industries and occupations in which unions are actually engaged in obtaining written agreements with employers. The year 1944 saw an increase of 4.5 per cent in proportion of workers covered by such agreements.

FEBRUARY, 1945

Many plans being formulated for postwar employment and what to do with ten million returning veterans.

The National Labor Relations Board issues its first report on its activities with strikes and the Smith-Connally Act. Report declares (a) that unions have used the strike ballot to try to force quicker and more favorable decisions from governmental agencies; (b) that 72 per cent of workers voted "Yea" on the question on the strike ballots, "Do you wish to permit an interruption in war-time as a result of disputes?"

World Trade Union Conference held in London with fifty million unionists represented. Passed a resolution to support a World Trade Union Federation or Conference. Plans to meet biennially in Paris. Principal union objective: to bring within its ranks the trade unions of the world regardless of race, nationality, religion, or political opinion. Principal political objective: to exterminate all fascist forms of government and every manifestation of fascism. The A.F. of L. did not send representatives to the Conference.

MARCH, 1945

War Production Board advocates a wider use of pay-incentive plans. Declares that production jumped on an average of 40 per cent within three months after the bonus incentives were introduced into plants.

John L. Lewis serves notice that the nation may expect soft-coal strike unless his miners get higher pay by March 31.

George W. Taylor, author of Little Steel Formula, becomes Chairman of the War Labor Board, succeeding William H. Davis, who takes the place of Fred Vinson as Director of Economic Stabilization.

APRIL, 1945

The world is saddened and shocked by the death of President Roosevelt on April 12. One of his last acts in connection with labor was a request to the 12-man committee appointed to assist War Mobilizer James F. Byrnes that it study the prospects of guaranteeing labor peacetime wages for forty hours every week in the year.

Eric Johnston, Philip Murray, and William Green announce that on March 28, 1945, they had signed a "New Charter for Labor and Management." Charter proposes a 20-man national committee, representing business and labor organizations, to be created to promote and propose a code of principles to govern industrial relations. Some of the basic principles: (1) private competitive capitalism; (2) no unnecessary, burdensome restrictions on management; (3) free collective bargaining and the right of labor to organize; (4) security of the individual against the hazards of unemployment, incapacity, and old age.

National Labor Relations Board reverses its two-year-old position on foremen's unions and states that foremen are employees without managerial power. Foremen's Association of America now claims 36,000 members.

Coal miners vote to strike, but a shutdown is averted by a War Labor Board order to continue under the old contract until further study can be made. John L. Lewis, "conscious of the imperative necessity of continued coal for war," accepts the order. Later, the miners are awarded an increase of about \$1.25 a day and some other concessions. Provision is made for reopening the contract on ten days' notice by either party after March 1, 1946, and any time before April 1, 1946.

MAY, 1945

President Christopher of the Packard Motor Car Company, when informed that over six hundred of his twelve hundred foremen had voted to be represented by the Foremen's Union, announces that those who joined would be dropped as foremen in the Packard plant. General Motors places advertisements in the newspapers designed to woo foremen away from the union.

War Labor Board Chairman Taylor and Price Administrator Bowles agree that postwar wages should remain high and prices low. Taylor asks labor and management to work out civilian production wage rates by means of collective bargaining and then submit the rates to the Board for approval.

Earnings of business at an all-time high for the first quarter of 1945. As the war in Europe ends, V-E day is celebrated on May 8.

JUNE, 1945

President Truman asks Congress to provide 26 weeks of employment at \$25 weekly for workers temporarily unemployed during the transition from war to peace as a defense against postwar deflation. This request promptly incorporated into a Full Employment Bill and introduced into the U.S. Senate by Senator Murray. Bill would require the President each January to report upon the number of persons who want work, the amount of private and public spending and investing to provide jobs, and the amount of such spending that will actually occur.

President Truman appoints Louis B. Schwollenbach, labor lawyer from Seattle and former U.S. Senator and Federal Judge, to succeed Frances Perkins as Secretary of Labor.

Motor car companies complain that the unions are attempting to usurp the powers of management. Labor leaders charge that the companies are out to break the unions and that they never have taken kindly to collective bargaining. Many radio commentators predict a fight to the finish between the two.

C.I.O.'s President Murray comes out for a 20 per cent increase in take-home pay as the first step toward reconversion.

U.S. Chamber of Commerce believes the Johnston-Murray-Green Charter for labor and management should be amended. It would reject foremen's unions and the closed shop and favor legislation to curb the monopolistic practices of big unions. National Association of Manufacturers looks suspiciously at the Charter.

JULY, 1945

The Ball-Burton-Hatch Bill introduced into the Senate. The Bill would scrap the N.L.R.B., the W.L.B., and the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor, and establish a 5-man Federal Relations Board for mediation and conciliation. Would compel arbitration of all grievance cases where strikes might cause hardship to public. Calls for revision of Wagner Act to allow closed shop only if 75 per cent of workers elect a union to represent them. Labor called it almost immediately the Ball-Burton-Hatch Bill and an attempt to destroy unionism.

Great strikes among rubber workers in Akron and among newspaper and mail deliverers in New York. Navy ordered to take over the Good-year Rubber plants in Akron. Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach calls in labor leaders for conferences in view of the threatening attitudes of many of them.

AUGUST, 1945

Senator Vandenberg of Michigan proposes that leaders of labor, management, and government adopt the United Nations Organization method of the round table for getting peace in industry.

V-J day arrives on the 15th, and in its aftermath starts a wave of strikes and demands for wartime pay continuation.

Public representatives on War Labor Board reported ready to ask the President to set aside the three-year-old Little Steel Formula.

SEPTEMBER, 1945

120,000 workers out on strike in over 500 disputes. United Automobile Workers Union announces that the automotive industry must raise wages 30 per cent without raising the price of cars to the public. Its vice-president, Walter Reuther, announces that the first target of the Union will be General Motors.

The Ford Motor Company forced to shut down because of a wildcat strike at one of its supplier's factories, the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Co.

Westinghouse Electric Company closed down because of a walkout by 12,000 members of its own company union.

Pepper-Morse Women's Equal Pay Bill championed by Mary Anderson, first and long-time Director of the Womens Bureau of the Department of Labor.

President Truman takes War Labor Board, the U.S. Employment Service, and War Manpower Commission into the U.S. Department of Labor as George W. Taylor resigns as chairman and member of W.L.B. Edgar L. Warren appointed to head the United States Conciliation Service. Lloyd K. Garrison made Chairman of War Labor Board.

OCTOBER, 1945

United Automobile Workers petitions the N.L.R.B. for a strike vote in ninety-six plants of General Motors, and the Board schedules the vote for October 24. Seven weeks after V-J day reveals 400 applications for strike votes before the Board.

General Motors President Wilson refuses point-blank the 30 per cent pay increase demanded by the union as unreasonable and inflationary and tells the union that it has been known not to live up to its agreements in the past. Both the union and the company start a publicity campaign to win public opinion.

Because of the great number of strike ballot petitions and the expense to the public, Representative Smith, co-author of the Smith-Connally Act, states that he will seek to have the Act taken off the statute books.

Montgomery Ward stores turned back to owners, and they promptly rescind an N.W.L.B. order for maintenance-of-membership.

President Truman seizes the plants of 26 oil refineries after Secretary Schwollenbach fails to get management and unions together.

Union membership now estimated at 14,500,000, an all-time high.

NOVEMBER, 1945

President Truman's sponsored Management-Labor Conference held in Washington. Composition: 9 representatives from National Association of Manufacturers, 9 from U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 8 from C.I.O., 8 from A. F. of L., 1 from United Mineworkers, and 1 from Railroad Brotherhoods. Its chairman: Judge Walter Parker Stacy of North Carolina. Its chief aim: to find the proper way to conduct labor relations so as to avoid disputes. The uninvited independent unions picket the conference. General consensus: results negative.

United States Steel Corporation turns down union demands for a \$2-a-day increase. C.I.O.'s Murray calls the action "arrogant" and calls for a strike vote among 640,000 workers in 766 companies. United Auto Workers vote for strike against General Motors and Chrysler. Ford Motor Company begins wage negotiations with the union, and Henry Ford II asks union to give the company the same security that the company has afforded the union in the past.

President Truman appeals to the public by radio for support of his labor policies. Declares he is in favor of granting wage increases wherever possible but that price ceilings must not be lifted to permit wage raises, that he wishes collective bargaining to be free and effective, and tells employers that they may petition O.P.A. for price increases after six months of trying out the effect of wage increases granted.

Commentator Drew Pearson predicts that John L. Lewis and his Mine Workers will be reinstated in the A. F. of L. and that John L. will succeed to its presidency when William Green retires.

United Auto Workers' Union offers to arbitrate with General Motors provided that the arbitrators may have access to the books of the Corporation, thus introducing the principle of "ability to pay" into the situation. General Motors immediately publishes advertisements stating its side of the case to the public.

DECEMBER, 1945

The Twelfth National Conference on Labor Legislation called by Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach to meet in Washington, December 3-6. Committee recommends that a clear definition and statement of labor policy be issued by the Secretary of Labor.

President Truman asks Congress for legislation to curb strikes. Wants a fact-finding board to handle any dispute beyond the efforts of the Secretary of Labor. Notifies Congress that he is going to appoint a fact-finding board to investigate the General Motors strike. Both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. are opposed to such boards. Later, the President appoints a board of three to consider the issues of the strike. During the hearings, the board decides that ability-to-pay is a relevant factor and General Motors withdraws from the hearing.

The fight over Fair Employment Practices Committee begins in Congress. President Truman had suggested making permanent the wartime Committee. Fair employment practices bills, which prohibit discrimination in employment on account of race, creed, color, or national origin, have been enacted into laws in five states, New York, New Jersey, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Utah. Senators from the South are enraged and promise to filibuster if such a bill is introduced into Congress.

Harold E. Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota, at the National Association of Manufacturers' Golden Anniversary Congress of American Industry proposes: (1) a sixty-day moratorium on strikes while industry, labor, agriculture, economists, and political leaders devise a new national wage policy; (2) a ten-year trial of the "free enterprise" system before making any decision to try a mixed economy.

Strike on at all General Motors plants in 50 cities and 19 states. Vice-President Reuther of U.A.W. states that the union will travel the road to the bitter end. General Motors President Charles E. Wilson states that the Corporation will fight for the preservation of the "free enterprise" system. John L. Lewis, watching from the sidelines, reported by the press as saying, "The dishonesty of the company on the one side is equalled only by the stupidity of the union on the other." Reported that General Motors assets are \$917,104,517; those of the biggest union opposing it, composed of 1,300,000 members, are nearly \$2,000,000.

The steel strike is promised for January 14, 1946. Sewell Avery's Montgomery Ward workers go out on strike in 12 cities because of his refusal to arbitrate.

Those who study and attempt to interpret the significance of the foregoing events may draw varied conclusions about what they mean, taken in their entirety, for the industrial situation at the beginning of 1946. Was United States labor in a period of "growing pains" and was its aggravating aggressiveness merely temporary? Or was it that labor, proud of its part in winning the war, had dis-

covered its power and was going to put labor into government? Was it that industry, afraid of the increased prestige of the Russians and their association with dread communism, had determined to make a final stand in behalf of capitalism by means of a great offensive against unionism? Or was it that industry, satisfied with the "free enterprise" that had made America great, was determined merely to return to the good old days of rugged individualism and normalcy? Perhaps none of these directly as a whole, but some of the ideas emanating from them in part, do emerge from the analysis of the situation. Whatever other interpretations might be made, it was clear that the nation had no working formula for a wage-price policy that would appeal to business, labor, agriculture, and the consumer and thus bring about internal peace for the days of reconversion.

Certain new policies on the part of labor were evident. Because the Smith-Connally Act invited the unions to notify the N.L.R.B. of an intended strike, their policy became strike first, arbitrate later. The drive toward a guaranteed annual wage became more and more noticeable. A determination not to lose any of the gains made during wartime caused union leadership to become increasingly militant and aggressive. Finally, the notion that "ability-to-pay" should be a determining factor in the theory of wages appeared during the General Motors strike. Because this would act as a double-edged sword and justify substandard wages in a low-profit-making industry, it is not likely that it will be pursued.

So far as industry is concerned, its owners elected to run along on the old lines, the ultraconservative and the liberal. The former, or die-hard line, would fight to the finish any ameliorative measures designed to court unionism. The liberal line, recognizing that collective bargaining has come to stay, would work out through manage-

ment-labor-government conferences policies to handle wage disputes and, probably, prices, so long as the world is in its present disorganized state.

The government, once called upon in the day of economic disaster to interfere drastically with industrial affairs, probably will not retire from the scene until a much calmer day arrives. It seems highly probable that if strikes continue to increase and threaten the security of the nation, attempts may be made by Congress to pass severe antistrike legislation to curb the activities of unions and their leaders. President Truman has demonstrated that he approves of full measures of cooperation between labor and management on their own behalf. He undoubtedly recognizes that if both management and labor take purely selfish roads, government must take a strong hand, even to the point of sending out ultimatums.

The most disturbing events of the period were the constantly increasing number of strikes over wages, due to a slow but marked rise in the cost of living and the rise of black markets exacting further tribute. Part of the rise, accompanied by scarcity of goods, has been due to the lust for gold, a lust which seems to have fastened itself onto all too many and which has resulted in the creation of a "new poor." The new poor are mostly white-collar people caught between high taxes and prices and fixed wages. The call, "get tough with labor," has brought about a demand for such things as compulsory arbitration, the denial of the right to strike, and the incorporation of union organizations.

On the brighter side have been the proposals for full employment, recognizing the duty of society with respect to unemployment; fact-finding bodies to analyze impartially the merits of a dispute which has eluded settlement by all other means; fair employment practices acts which are in accordance with the desire for world peace and the

upholding of the dignity of mankind; general acceptance of the guaranteed annual wage, which if adopted would release much of the tension caused by insecurity. The splendid results of the work of the U.S. Conciliation Service should be regarded here as a sign of improvement. Over half of all the cases brought to it have been settled through its efforts; only one fifth have been sent to the War Labor Board for final hearings. Finally, the recognition of the need for Labor-Management Charters arrived at through joint participation of labor and management may be cited as a forward-looking attitude on the part of democratic leaders in both managerial and labor affairs.

TOWARD INDUSTRIAL PEACE

FRANK T. CARLTON

Case School of Applied Science

● In medieval England, feuds and duels were gradually replaced by courts of law. A form of arbitration was substituted for combat. Law courts began to arise when armed conflict between groups and individuals interfered seriously with the general public life, with the orderly processes of getting a living and maintaining homes.

Early strikes were only local and troubled few except those directly connected with the dispute. Today, a strike in one of many industries adversely affects hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children who are scattered far and wide and who have no direct tie-up with the parties engaged in industrial warfare. Work stoppages in a key industry such as the electric power industry will paralyze the activities of an entire community and will soon lead to dire distress among multitudes of families living in the area served by the industry. Workers do not desire to strike; they prefer to go on working and getting pay envelopes regularly. Workers strike because they have grievances and no orderly or satisfactory way of settling them.

The interest of the bystander, or the consumer of the products of the plant, in the steady functioning of the business is now great. The steady flow of food, clothing, heating, lighting, transportation, and communication depends upon the continuous operation of certain industries. A substitute for strikes and lockouts is imperative. When peaceful and orderly agreements cannot be reached by collective bargaining, arbitration is an appropriate substitute for settling industrial feuds. But to insist in the interest of the community that the right to shut down an important or key industry must be taken away

from both management and workers implies a very considerable change in the traditionally accepted view of the rights of individual workers and of business management. To outlaw strikes and lockouts without educating the mass of citizens within and without the union in regard to the rights of the consumer to an uninterrupted flow of the necessities and comforts of life is almost inevitably doomed to failure. Some simplification and clarification of the relation between wages and other forms of income is desirable.

Arbitration should be a last resort to be used after collective bargaining supplemented by governmental mediation has failed. Before arbitration of an industrial dispute can function smoothly, a formula for determining a fair or just wage or a new adjustment of the rights and responsibilities of owners, management, and workers is essential. Under capitalism wages are one form of functional income; other forms are rent, interest, and profits. The absolute or the relative amount of these shares is not automatically determined. Wages, for example, are determined in part by bargaining between groups or individuals and in part by custom or tradition. Under socialism or communism, wages constitute the sole form of income to be received by individuals. However, deductions must be made from total production for depreciation and new capital—equivalent to investment under capitalism.

Wages are fixed by the interplay of many and variable forces. One cannot, therefore, write a simple formula for the determination of wage rates, or of profits. The equation to be solved has too many changing factors. The practical approach to industrial peace will be through a program that will reduce the points of antagonism and increase common interests between management and men. The writer wishes to present certain simplifications which may be carried out within the boundaries of capitalism or, if

the reader wishes, within the realm of "free enterprise."

As the writer has pointed out elsewhere,¹ in large corporations with many scattered stockholders, the owners are practically functionless. Ownership and management are divorced. Without destroying private ownership, we may logically and legally put all the stockholders of limited-liability corporations in the position of preferred stockholders with the maximum income per share definitely fixed—if earned. Profits over and above expenses, including the fixed dividends paid to stockholders, could then be divided among three groups—management and workers in the form of a profit-sharing dividend, and consumers or purchasers of the product in the form of lower prices or rebates. If this program were generally adopted, effective demand would be increased by raising take-home wages and by lowering prices.

Diverting profits from the absentee, drifting, and functionless owners to those actively engaged in the industry would again make the profit incentive a positive force working toward efficiency. Under this plan of profit sharing the workers would become directly interested in the efficiency of the entire personnel of the plant. New capital would be obtained by selling bonds or more stock. Profits could not be plowed back into the business except by agreement among the profit sharers.

The inclusion of management and workers in profit sharing would also incline both toward peaceful settlement of industrial disputes. If, in addition, a good personnel policy, a guaranteed annual wage, and an incentive wage plan based upon individual or group performance were adopted by the management, many of the abrupt curves and steep grades in the road toward industrial peace would be eliminated. Furthermore, the acceptance of this

¹ *The Survey Graphic*, January, 1922; *Economics*, (1931); *Labor Problems* (1933); *Dynamic America*, January, 1942.

program will not be revolutionary in its effects upon the property rights of corporations or of individuals, although it may require federal incorporation to insure uniformity.

Doubtless, this roughly sketched plan for increasing common interests between management and men may be severely criticized, but the need of reducing industrial warfare is pressing. Any plan which promises to reduce friction in the economic sphere, to enlarge common interests, and to furnish more potent incentives for efficiency is worthy of consideration. When collective bargaining breaks down and mediation fails, the strike and the lockout should, in the interest of general well-being, be displaced by the court of arbitration as were the feud and the duel by the court of law.

LEGAL COMMITMENT AND SOCIAL CONTROL

EDWIN M. LEMERT

University of California at Los Angeles

● Elsewhere the writer has advanced a simple, hypothetical system for the analysis of social control situations.¹ The system conceives social control in terms of (1) deviation—the difference between the objectives of control and the behavior of the groups or persons being controlled, (2) the differential in power between controllers and controlled, (3) the means of control, (4) the forms of control. This article suggests the further application of these concepts to the legal commitment of mentally diseased persons. Here, however, discussion will be confined to some considerations of deviation and the power differential as they affect this process.

One of the greatest fallacies in many discussions of social control has been the Sumnerian assumption of automaticity in the control process, the assigning of reified coercive qualities to the mores, social norms, and social laws, with a consequent ignoring of the dynamic aspects of the process.² That the process is a highly variable one in this instance is apparent from the estimate that only 50 per cent of mentally diseased persons are ever institutionalized.³

It would probably be agreed by most psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, clinical psychologists, and

¹ Edwin M. Lemert, "The Grand Jury as an Agency of Social Control," *American Sociological Review*, December, 1945.

² P. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (1929), pp. 699-700; D. Katz and R. Schanck, *Social Psychology* (1938), p. 21; E. Lemert, "The Folkways and Social Control," *American Sociological Review*, June, 1942; also the critical comment on A. B. Hollingshead's concept of social control by R. Vance, "Toward Social Dynamics," *American Sociological Review*, April, 1945.

³ C. Landis and J. D. Page, *Modern Society and Mental Disease* (1938), pp. 19-38; H. B. Elkind, "Are Mental Diseases on the Increase?" *Psychiatric Quarterly*, January, 1939.

trained observers of mental disease that psychotic deviation as described in formal psychiatric categories is not in itself the basis of commitments to mental hospitals. Rather it is the deviations of the psychotic person from customary role expectancies which increase his social visibility and put strains upon others that provide the impetus to insanity proceedings. It seems sound to argue in general that different types of psychoses have different degrees of social visibility and potentialities for strain upon family and community organization. For example, it has been suggested that the manic-depressive will be apparent in almost any social context, in contrast with at least certain types of schizophrenia.⁴ The speeded-up, group-disruptive behavior and occasional suicidal attempts of the manic are much more likely in our type of culture⁵ to lead to hospitalization than the seclusive behavior of the schizophrenic.

However, broad generalizations about the relevance of certain psychotic symptoms to culture are probably of less value than an intimate knowledge of how they relate themselves to expectancies based upon age, sex, marital status, and occupational, ethnic, and locality affiliations. The combinations and interaction of these are often extremely complicated and make generalizations difficult. One apathetic schizophrenic man may escape institutionalization as a result of routine employment under close supervision; another with comparable symptoms may fail in his role because he has a job calling for sustained attention and synthesizing adjustments. A schizophrenic woman without children may be tolerated or pampered by her husband, but the care of children may throw an intolerable strain on the husband or other family members. It is also true that community agencies have a stake in these

⁴ M. B. Owen, "Alternative Hypotheses for the Explanation of Some of Faris' and Dunham's Results," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1941.

⁵ The higher readmission rates for the manic depressives are suggestive here. Landis and Page, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

cases.⁶ The tolerance of groups for the disruptive behavior of psychotic members finds expression in variable institutionalizing tendencies or preferences, or, perhaps better, in a tolerance quotient.⁷ As has been pointed out, such a tolerance quotient will vary with status or role indicators. It will also have time-space dimensions.

The two main groups involved in commitment are the family and the community in its more formal collective capacities. The equilibrium in which the psychotic person has status may be quite unstable. Commitment may be a sign of changed tolerance for the deviant rather than of an exaggeration of his psychotic behavior. Often an unbalanced family member is tolerated only through some attenuated dyadic relationship and when this is broken commitment follows. An illustration is a case in which a mother cared for a demented daughter for many years until her own health failed; since the brother and sister refused to provide the necessary care, hospitalization had to be sought. Common cases in recent years are those where growing family responsibilities cause children to be unable to care for senile parents, most obvious in urban areas, perhaps, where old persons become traffic hazards or add to housing difficulties. Old people often become serious fire hazards, especially in rural areas, but even such a simple thing as overtaxing the laundry facilities of

⁶ In one case investigated by the writer a mother was unable to purchase and keep accounts of groceries and utilities; she mislaid money; her house was filthy; and she often let clothes soak for as long as six weeks in the tubs. However, it was her failure to feed the children regularly, clothe them properly, and get them to school that was the culminating stress leading to her commitment.

⁷ This problem has been tentatively discussed in connection with criminal deviation. "It is . . . maintained that the sociologically important aspects of behavior along the various vectors of deviation from normal or approved conduct may be expressed in terms of a quotient which is a ratio between the behavior in objective terms and the community's willingness to tolerate it, with a critical point for each case where the community in its corporate capacity goes into action." C. Van Vechten, "The Tolerance Quotient as a Device for Defining Certain Social Concepts," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1940.

a growing family by incontinent elders may be the social break leading to hospitalization. In a sociological time-analysis of the phenomena of institutionalization it is clear that the tolerance quotient must be related to such things as family life cycles and linear or cyclical changes in community life.

The question of the spatial distribution of institutionalized cases of mental disease probably hinges on the differences between the tolerance quotients of families in general and those of community agencies. Perhaps a more significant and more generally operating variable is the degree of primary contacts in various areas.⁸ It is the writer's impression from approximately one hundred interviews with relatives of persons committed to a Midwestern state hospital that families will tolerate extreme deviation on the part of psychotic members, seeking legal commitment only with great reluctance and show of guilt, and after exhausting all other resources. Isolated or rural communities also seem to show broad tolerances for psychotic persons. An estimate supplied by the local physician in an isolated community in the Great Lakes region placed the number of nonhospitalized psychotics at 40, out of a total population of 600, somewhat more than 6 per cent of the whole. There can be little doubt but that the greater familism of rural people and the tendency of smaller communities to handle problems informally is involved here.⁹

⁸ M. B. Owen suggests that the differences in the spatial distribution of catatonic schizophrenia and paranoid schizophrenia in urban areas (Chicago) might be explained in terms of such a difference (*op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50).

⁹ This is particularly true of some of the sex deviations associated with the menopause and senile disturbances in men. Police in one small Midwestern community confided in the writer that they frequently made only perfunctory efforts to apprehend "window peepers" even when they had a good idea as to who they were, preferring that neighbors catch such persons and give them a beating.

In large urban communities it is pertinent to know whether the family or the formal control agencies in the community show greater tolerance for comparable psychotic behavior. Unfortunately there are almost no studies that shed direct light on this question. There can be no doubt, however, that families and community agencies seek hospitalization of psychotics for widely different reasons. A comparative study of cases committed by families and by police in Peiping, China, showed that police tended to take action in more cases which involved attacks, violence, confusion, and general disorderly conduct, whereas family cases were more numerous with delusions, hallucinations, "restless" behavior, physical complaints, and suspected physical complaints. The greatest differences were in the cases of general disorderliness and confusion, in which police cases were three to five times as numerous as family cases. The greatest preponderance of family over police cases came in the category of delusions.¹⁰

The second factor involved in the commitment of mentally ill persons is significant where commitment occurs before a critical point is reached in the tolerance ratio and where a critical point is reached but no commitment follows. Here are seen the convergent effects of behavior aberrations and power struggle. Often serious psychiatric symptoms are present without much social visibility or strain, so that commitment is sought as an incident of intra- or inter-group struggle. Perhaps the term

¹⁰ "A Brief Report on the Police Cooperation in Connection with Mental Cases in Peiping," F. L. K. Hsu, in *Neuropsychiatry in China*, Ed. R. S. Lyman, V. Maeker, and P. Liang (Peking, 1939). The writer's impressions, based upon case histories, interviews with relatives, and hospital ward contacts, would tend to bear out these facts. One case investigated revealed that the patient had lived in a rooming house in Chicago for more than a year, during which time he called the police several times as a result of visual and auditory hallucinations. Each time the police told him he had been drinking too much and not to bother them. Later, when he returned to his family home in a small town, his relatives sought his commitment after a short period.

*spurious deviation*¹¹ is appropriate to describe situations of this sort. Ordinarily commitment struggles are between factions of relatives in the family group, based upon property considerations, the custody of children, or simply on general hostility. In other cases community cleavages are expressed symbolically in commitment proceedings. Neighbors, local business establishments, employers, insurance companies, welfare agencies, physicians, lawyers, probate court members, even the staff of the mental hospital itself may inject considerations of status into the otherwise perfunctory process of legal commitment.

It is precisely at this point that our conventional, mechanistic social control concepts fall down and the need for an understanding of the more dynamic aspects of control becomes apparent. A case history investigated by the writer clearly illustrates what has been said thus far and perhaps provides clues for further elaboration of concepts for testing.

S— was a boy of eighteen, a member of an isolated Polish family living in a sparsely populated township in a Midwestern state. Most of his life he was mentally retarded, this being explained by the mother as the result of an accidental head injury at an early age. Neighbors generally thought the boy queer but not particularly dangerous. A nearby nurseryman gave him occasional work, which he was able to carry on under the close supervision of his brother.

A pronounced ingroup-outgroup cleavage existed between a group of the neighbors and the boy's family, hostility being directed at the whole family group instead of any one of its members. Attention of the investigator was called to such things as the father's terrific temper and

¹¹ Not to be confused with the folk concept of "railroading." Cases of commitment of normal persons are probably so rare that they can be dismissed from consideration.

beating of the boys and to the mother's refusal to talk to people and her habit of gathering pebbles along the road. Credence was given stories that the family did not eat together at a table in their home, supported in part by the uncouth manners of the boys when they ate in neighbors' homes. Hostility grew out of the feeling of S—'s brother that they were exploited by farmers for whom they worked; ultimately they refused such work. Many farmers termed them lazy.

When S— reached eighteen his brother got a job in a nearby town, and the work of S— became less dependable. He was rejected for military service as mentally deficient. One day he was in the company of a group of boys in front of a ramshackle old house owned by a senile man who lived in a lean-to affixed to the rear. This man was considered by many neighbors to be more peculiar than the boy. He had been something of a nuisance to the Polish family. The boys made joking threats to hurl stones through the sagging, half-broken windows of the house. S— went farther and actually threw the stones, making wild threats to "blow the house into the sky with dynamite."

The boy was taken into custody on complaint by the old man. In the course of an examination it was revealed that the boy habitually engaged in auto-erotic practices. On this discovery a woman recently moved into the neighborhood became much concerned for the safety of her daughters. The sheriff also was much impressed by this fact. Over strong resistance of the mother and later of the father, the boy was committed to the state hospital for the insane, where a psychiatrist tentatively diagnosed him as schizophrenic. When the father carried his complaint to the governor of the state, there was a tendency for some of the staff to consider him demented.

This case seems a clear illustration of some of the concepts here defined, bringing out the precarious nature of the neighborhood equilibrium in which S— participated, the changing social role expectancies associated with S—'s attainment of maturity, and the changing tolerance quotient as the structure of the neighborhood and family groups was modified. Perhaps even more significantly indicated is the part played by overt hostility based upon culture conflict. There is little doubt that the isolated position of the Polish family heightened the social visibility of S—'s deviation, in spite of the fact that, as one hired hand said, "He didn't do nothing any other boy wouldn't have done." A study of mental disorders in urban areas shows that commitment rates are higher for ethnic groups living in areas not predominantly inhabited by persons of their own nationality.¹² A point missed or ignored by the authors in their interpretation of this phenomenon is that breakdowns in social communication have a two-way effect. They not only weaken the personal integration of the individual and thus increase the likelihood of incidence of certain types of mental disorder¹³ but also change the tolerance quotient of the group. The putative facts of *spurious deviation* are a reciprocal of deviation by the isolated individual.

Another line of reasoning suggested here is that isolation relates closely to the organizational basis of power. Being on the group margins, the isolated individual has little call upon the loyalties of others to resist institutionalization. In this case it was obvious that the elective sheriff and probate judge were not influenced by consid-

¹² R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* (Chicago, 1939), p. 177.

¹³ The proposition that manic-depressive insanity represents such gross social deviation (as opposed to psychiatric) that the power differential seldom operates would have to be tested in order to validate more completely the type of analysis that has here been suggested.

erations of possible political repercussions of their action.

Although studies of the social etiology of mental disorders may not be vitiated by being based upon data for hospitalized cases, more modesty and care in phrasing conclusions in such research are indicated. If the arguments here have any validity, then such data are only a crude measure of the incidence and perhaps an unreliable measure of the variety of mental deviation. They are at least as much a measure of the aspects of social control.

SOCIAL EDUCATION FOR HOUSING

J. ROY LEEVY
Purdue University

● Today the problem of housing is probably one of the most vital social and economic issues confronting all classes of people in every community. This is a sociological problem, since it concerns all people. One often asks this question, "Why are there not enough houses for people to live in?"

In attempting to answer it there are many factors to consider. First, the lack of houses was a problem in a great many cities and some rural communities before World War II. This was shown by the number of sub-standard and nonlivable houses that were revealed by many of the "Housing Surveys" of the late thirties. Then the length of the War and the need for diverting materials and labor to all kinds of construction other than houses plus some extravagance in the use of housing materials have decreased the construction of houses. Hence the total number of housing units in many cities and towns has not increased in the last five years. Also the wartime migration to the cities has created a demand for houses and sent rents and selling prices far beyond actual values.

Any sort of housing program affects the entire community. One class of people, who are adequately housed themselves, look upon a housing project in their community as just another form of charity. A second group looks upon housing projects (especially those partially financed by Federal funds) as another plank in a political party's platform and discounts its usefulness to the city. A third group looks upon housing programs or projects as a sort of "social panacea" which rids a city of its slums and blighted areas. The fact that these extremes exist indicates the need for a program of housing education.

A workable program of housing education must be based upon each community's needs for housing. There should not be a "blue-print" set up by a national agency and imposed upon the people of the community, but each community must develop its own educational program as well as its own housing program.

Suppose the housing program in a city is started by making a housing survey. At the time the survey is begun a well-planned educational program throughout the city may be inaugurated. This educational program may be presented in the schools, the churches, the luncheon clubs, and all kinds of common-interest groups during the progress of the housing survey. The writer has been affiliated with some housing surveys where the leaders of the survey did not keep all kinds of groups of people informed about the survey. In some cases misinformed or uninformed groups have looked upon public housing and other forms of housing as rather objectionable, especially when they have not been able to interpret the policies of the national and local housing boards. Sometimes the schools have not been asked to play a part in teaching the value of housing to the people of a city. Some have not made provision for the social aspects of housing in their social studies or home economics courses. Housing is much more than the study of kinds of materials and of architectural design, which has been too often the major emphasis in many of our schools. In other words, we need to interpret the data of a housing survey to all the people, including those who are not going to be rehoused.

For those who are going to live in the project, there needs to be a continuous educational program. We do not rid a city of its slums by just building new houses in the place of old ones. Where there has been a poor educational program or none at all, the writer has observed, the occupants of housing projects have not benefited socio-

logically, nor has the rest of the community. But in those cities where they have been taught to care for a house and its furniture and to see the usefulness of better housing to the entire city, housing has been very successful.

The writer studied one city in Indiana that had put a community-wide educational program regarding housing in operation after 350 families were rehoused, and obtained the following results:

1. Ninety-two per cent of the women were affiliated with P.T.A. groups as contrasted to 2.3 per cent before being rehoused.
2. Eighty-five per cent of the women made some sort of rugs or floor coverings as contrasted with 15 per cent before being rehoused.
3. Sixty-five per cent of the fathers took active part in church and community clubs as compared to 3.1 per cent before being rehoused.
4. Forty-two per cent of the fathers were caring for lawns and flower beds as compared with 1.2 per cent.
5. School attendance had increased from 42.2 per cent to 87.3 per cent.
6. Withdrawals from high school, 1943-45, had decreased 48.4 per cent.
7. Seventy-three per cent of the families had never cared for lawns, flowers, and shrubbery, whereas 100 per cent, or all of them, were now.
8. Sixty-two per cent of the families were doing home canning of vegetables and fruits as contrasted with 10.3 per cent before rehousing. Many of the women stated that they learned how to can through their neighborhood home economics clubs which they organized after rehousing. In one city the home economics supervisor for the entire school system cooperated by attending meetings of the

home economics club of the local housing project. This is an excellent way for this department of the school to assist in a program of social education regarding the housing of low-income families.

9. In eighty-two per cent of the families the mother, the children, or the father was affiliated with the churches as contrasted with 26.4 per cent before being rehoused.
10. Sixty-two per cent of the mothers were members of community clubs outside of the housing project, such as home economics and literary clubs, as contrasted with 3.7 per cent before being rehoused. This indicates an excellent program of social education, since it includes members of non-rehoused families as well as members of rehoused families. Such a plan makes for better housing education in the city.

We contend that there is no standardized social educational curriculum in housing that can be set up to meet the needs of all communities. The type of program of social education in housing, just like the housing program for each community, needs to be formulated and operated on the basis of individual city's needs. The number of social agencies or institutions that take an active interest in housing education should be determined by the local citizens and not by a national agency, which is too far removed from the city and does not understand all its social, economic, and political conditions. It is the duty of every citizen who wants to make our cities more useful from the standpoint of human values, to understand the values of social education as applied to housing.

CONTROL PATTERNS IN AN INTRACULTURAL SCHOOL*

CECIL EVVA LARSEN

Thomas Jefferson High School, Los Angeles, California

● Thomas Jefferson High School lies within an intracultural, semi-industrial area in east Los Angeles. This section of the city was formerly a "white" residential district but is now occupied largely by Negroes, Mexicans, and Chinese. Invasion by these groups started over fifteen years ago and as a result the former residents moved elsewhere.

According to a school survey made in 1943, approximately 90 per cent of the student body is composed of Negroes. These people have come from all over the United States and the West Indies, but over 20 per cent has migrated to Los Angeles within the past few years, principally from the rural sections of Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. Finding it difficult to rent or buy homes outside the area, they have been forced to live with friends and relatives. Overcrowding, lack of privacy, breakdown of family controls, and conflict with law-enforcing agencies, neighbors, and members of their own families have been the results.

These out-of-state folk have had many adjustments to make, for the social relationships, particularly, have been difficult for them to understand because they are different from those to which they were accustomed in their former home communities.¹ They have not always known how to use the "new freedom" and have, in some instances

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¹ Ruth Benedict, *Race and Cultural Relations*, Unit Number 5, National Council for the Social Studies, National Association of Secondary School Principals, National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1942.

probably unconsciously, caused their city friends and relatives embarrassment because of their "crude" behavior.

There is a strong feeling of family solidarity among these newcomers as well as evidence of matriarchal tendencies. The grandmother and mother play dominant roles in the family group, but their methods of control, effective enough in rural homes, cannot cope with the complex urban environment. Therefore, these in-migrants add to the problems of this area of segregation.

There are many broken homes; according to the 1943 survey, only 24 per cent of the pupils from the homes of these in-migrant families live with both parents. The desertion and divorce rates are high; a large number of the mothers work outside the home and leave their children unsupervised during the day.

Crime among the boys and girls as well as among the adults is more in evidence in this area than in other districts in the city occupied by Negroes. Prostitution is one of the problems, although it is not a problem in other Negro communities in Los Angeles. Some of the families accept illegitimacy as a natural condition. This attitude is probably a cultural lag from the early post-Civil War years, but it comes into conflict with the attitudes of other Negro residents and causes discord in the homes as well as in the school and community.

There are many "depression children" among the pupils, that is, pupils who suffer malnutrition, dental defects, and diseases traceable to the poor diets of the depression period. As recently as 1940, 60 per cent of the families of children enrolled at Jefferson High were receiving aid from some form of organized relief agency and 50 per cent of the children were victims of malnutrition.

All kinds of personality problems come to the attention of counselors and teachers. Students suffer from feelings

of inadequacy and inferiority. They are plagued with frustrations: they feel that they do not "belong" and are "different"; that they are being persecuted by the administrators, teachers, law-enforcing agencies, and society at large. Compensations for some of these inner stresses and strains are found in various types of overt behavior, such as bizarre fashions in dress and hair styles, loud, strident voices, much noisy laughter, "jive" music and language. They are eager to "make good," and to be "like other people," but they are likely to overdo in their enthusiastic efforts to conform to the behavior standards of the majority group.

There are marked religious attitudes among the residents. More churches are located in this school district than in any other in the city. Religion means an escape from the harsh realities of life for many members of this minority group; it points a way out of present difficulties; it stimulates hope for a "better day-a-coming." Many of the people in the area find in church activities an outlet for their desires for recognition, for security, and for status.

Boys and girls come from these Negro homes and from others representing twenty-two nationalities to study and work and play together in the classrooms and laboratories and on the campus of the school.² Many of their parents do not understand the California compulsory school laws: they keep their children home for trifling reasons; the tardiness rate is high. In order to advance more rapidly toward the coveted goal of graduation, some of the students give incorrect information concerning their grade placements and have to be sent back to junior high school when their transcripts of credits arrive. A number of them ask to be transferred to other schools where the Negro

² Roger William Riis and Webb Waldron, "When Black and White Work Together," condensed from *Survey Graphic* by *Reader's Digest*, vol. 47, no. 281, September, 1945.

student is still in a minority group situation; and others apparently are not interested in their work and are without ambition. But in spite of these observations, the Negro parent and student are vitally interested in the school and the training it offers. Education means the salvation of the race to these people. Fathers and mothers undergo great sacrifices in order that their sons and daughters may receive high school diplomas. Solving the problems relating to attendance is largely a matter of parent education.

In order to meet these difficulties, certain social control patterns have been set up by the administrators and teachers of the school. The guidance program is centered in a core curriculum called a basic course in social experience. Every tenth and eleventh grade student is required to attend a basic course class two hours daily; seniors spend only one hour in this type of class work. The basic course teacher becomes the student's friend; she discusses any personal problems that he brings to her as well as counsels with him in regard to his academic plans and difficulties. She confers with his parents or guardians, keeps records of his work, and refers him to the vice-principal, specialists in various fields of teaching, or to any outside agency for any special counseling or service that he may need.

The health coordinator and a special committee of teachers give general supervision to the health problems of the school. They depend upon the basic course department to carry out any plan of parent and student cooperation in regard to change of attitude toward physical examinations and medical care in general. A number of the parents and students are unfamiliar with the ordinary terminology of the lay person relating to medical matters; they are skeptical of any procedure for the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of disease; they are somewhat afraid of doctors and nurses. However, through the concerted

efforts of administrators, teachers, and representatives of the health department much has been done in the way of correcting individual health problems. The physical education, life science, and family relations classes are focal centers for health education and guidance for the student body at large.

The social and some of the recreational activities of the school are under the direction of a social chairman and a committee of teachers and students. This committee is responsible for the policies that govern the social affairs of the student body. These activities are planned so that they progress from the simple informal events of the freshman students to the more elaborate and formal affairs of the seniors. Attempts are made to weave them around the special needs and problems of the group so that they may have educational as well as recreational value. The folk songs and dances of the national and racial groups add color and interest to the program and tend to stimulate appreciation of the various groups' contributions to the cultural heritage of the country.

Social dancing has not proved to be the problem that it was expected to be. The school has taken the stand that participation in social dancing is a personal matter which the student must decide for himself. And no irate parent has come to the school to complain about the lowering of standards concerning behavior at school affairs.

There are special classes for students who need help in overcoming speech and reading handicaps. A large number of the pupils need this type of assistance, as they come from homes where poor speech habits are in use or where no English is spoken by the parents. Many of them make glaring grammatical errors or speak in dialects that set them apart as "different."

Students in this school are particularly responsive to any form of artistic work. They like music, poetry, and

dancing; they are creative and like to participate in these types of activity. The Jefferson High A Cappella Choir is known throughout the city for its excellent work, and the students are proud of its record. Music and drama are used as means of social control in developing appreciation and interest in school work and community welfare.

The public relations committee was organized in response to a need for a better understanding among various groups within the school, the community, and other areas in the city. Editorials and articles in the school and community newspapers, student participation in Parent-Teacher Association meetings and on radio programs, special school assemblies featuring outside artists and speakers, and youth councils on intracultural problems with student representatives from other high schools in Los Angeles are some of the devices for social control that have been used. The committee proceeds on the assumption that prejudice of all kinds is based on fear and ignorance, that social distance between groups may be lessened if each can learn to know and understand the other, that the key to successful public relations work is sincere and honest interpretation of one group to another.³

The problems in this intracultural high school constantly challenge the interests as well as the abilities of the administrative and teaching personnel.⁴ There are certain factors ever present in the situation which must be considered and understood. One of these is the varied cul-

³ C. O. Arndt, *Americans All*, Studies in Intracultural Education, The Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction of the National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1942.

⁴ A child-care center for the preschool age children of working mothers, financed partly by funds from the Federal government, has been established on the school premises. A director and corps of trained personnel care for the little pupils during the hours that the mothers work. The school and child care center cooperate in offering a course that gives training to girls in the care of young children. The students are given an opportunity to apply in a practical situation the theory that they have learned in the classroom and in reading. The work may stimulate some of the girls to consider the field as a vocational possibility, but the major objective tends toward better-trained mothers in the homes of tomorrow.

tural backgrounds of the students. The Negro boy or girl who comes from Louisiana finds it difficult to understand the attitudes and behavior patterns of his neighbors from the West Indies; both of these groups find that their cultures differ from those of the young people from New York, Chicago, Mexico, or China.

It has been pointed out that a large number of the Negro in-migrants have come from the rural sections of the South. They have been caught in a whirlwind of rapid social change and have difficulty in defining social situations satisfactorily. The social relationships in the urban community and in the high school are unlike those to which they were accustomed in the rural districts of Texas and Arkansas.⁵ They earn more money in Los Angeles but must spend more for food, clothes, and shelter; they are confused by the variety of commercial recreational possibilities in the city; and the behavior of the students from these homes depicts a fluctuating pattern of advancement and adjustment in some phases of social reaction and of lag and conflict in others.

It requires stability and resourcefulness on the part of administrators and teachers to guide the often-confused student in his attempt to orient himself to the school environment, to help him make vocational and academic plans, or to adjust himself to the various personal problems that may arise.

In setting up social control patterns, it is necessary to face problems squarely and without fear.⁶ A sympathetic

⁵ E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: The Chicago University Press, 1940).

⁶ The following books may prove to be helpful in connection with any study of intracultural relations: Theodore Bramfeld, *Design for America* (New York: Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge, 1945); Ethel M. Duncan, *Democracy's Children* (New York: Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge, 1945); St. Clair Drake and Horace A. Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945); Robert C. Jones, *Mexican War Workers in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1945); and *Characteristics of the American Negro*, edited by Otto Klineberg (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944).

and understanding approach is required, but this does not mean a "Lady Bountiful" attitude or one that fears to offend members of a minority group by refusing to be frank and sincere in relation to their particular problems. The social control patterns that have been most effective in practical application to social conditions at Jefferson High School have been those that were based upon an honest desire to understand the other person and upon the ability to face candidly the realities of the situation.

CONSUMERS' COOPERATION AND FREE ENTERPRISE

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

The University of Southern California

● Consumers' cooperatives are being cited today as genuine expressions of free enterprise.¹ In fact, students of them assert that they are the truest forms of free enterprise now in operation in any country. Their rapid development in many countries, including the United States, in recent years calls for an examination of their relation to the concept of free enterprise.

Free enterprise is the practice among business organizations of operating unhampered by governmental regulations and controls. Under free enterprise business ownership is more or less a law unto itself, subject chiefly to conditions of supply and demand and to the economic laws of competition. It is not only free from restrictions imposed by government but free to engage in a wide range of competitive practices even to the point of absorbing other businesses or of driving countless small businesses to the wall. It is free to be ruthless in dealing with would-be or potential competitors.

Furthermore, under free enterprise business ownership is free to unite with other businesses and thus form monopolies. It is free to corner the market, to restrict output, to charge countless consumers unfair prices, and to sell cleverly adulterated food under the guise of pure food. It is free to form trusts and cartels, to buy and control patent rights, to make international agreements with businesses in so-called foreign countries and thus to control the supply and the prices of economic goods needed in several different countries at a given time.

¹ Special reference is made here to cooperatives that follow the "Rochdale Principles."

The tendency of business to be centralized and of powerful, large-scale organizations to absorb or crush out small businesses means that free enterprise for the latter no longer exists as it once did. Large-scale business has, doubtless, gone a long way in destroying free enterprise for small business.

It should be noted in passing that free enterprise means that business is also free to put the principles of fair dealing with competitors and with consumers into practice. Many businesses, especially smaller ones, carry out literally the principles of social justice in their relations with one another and with the consumers.²

But the cases of unfair practices of business have become so many and so serious that governments have stepped in with an ever-increasing number of regulations. These rules have become so many that large-scale business has organized powerful lobbies to influence legislators not to make more regulations but to repeal some that are already on the statute books. No longer do big business organizations openly take the attitude of "the public be damned," but they seek by propaganda and other means to appease the public.

Government regulation of business decreases free enterprise in business. As a result of big business crushing out small business and of government control and regulation of business for the purpose of protecting consumers against the greed of some business organizations, free enterprise in the business world has disappeared to a surprising extent. The result is that either business monopoly on one hand or government ownership and control, on the other hand, have developed. Small business has little freedom.

² "Free enterprise" is supported by H. Sabin Bagger in *See Here, Private Enterprise* (New York: Island Workshop Cooperative Press, 1945), provided the public will organize and protect itself by assuming control of its own government in true democratic fashion. Hence, free enterprise involves the economic and social planning of people generally, and not of one class for its own benefit.

This decline of freedom is moving up the scale to include middle-sized business.

Despite the drawbacks of government regulation and control many people in many lands see no alternative. They believe that business through exercising the rights of free enterprise has become so powerful that it cannot be adequately directed except through government controls. They claim that free enterprise has been used to create such powerful monopolies that government alone can protect the millions of consumers. In many countries the number of people who would go to the extreme of adopting complete government ownership of business is apparently increasing. To thousands, free enterprise has outlived its earlier usefulness and must give way to government ownership—unless the masses of people are to be enslaved economically. Others claim that government ownership is merely another form of enslavement.³

In some countries the conflict has become so bitter between those who would restore free enterprise to its earlier glory and those who have lost all faith in its possibilities under present conditions that the two groups fear and hate each other. Neither group trusts any compromise gesture that the other may make. Neither believes that any workable compromise is feasible. Each group sees no way out of the dilemma except through the extirpation of the other. Each is becoming more and more partisan and is developing more and more the position of an extremist. It is this deadly conflict that explains the deadlock between conservatives and laborites in England today, that keeps France continually on the rocks of economic disaster, that brings China now and then to the verge of civil war, that explains the failure of the Congress of the United States to

³ This conflict has been described as a struggle between "two destructive imperialisms, the old dog-eat-dog individualism and the new freedom-crushing, and group-crushing, and man-crushing collectivism." Leo R. Ward, *United for Freedom* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1945), p. 12.

pass needed legislation, and that restrains the United Nations Organization from striking out freely to lay the foundations for a peaceful world.

Consumers' cooperatives, which have been developing apace since their early rise in England a century ago and their spread throughout the Scandinavian countries and elsewhere in Europe, not to mention the United States or China, have been pronounced the truest expression of free enterprise to be found anywhere today.⁴ If one concedes that the loss of free enterprise through either private monopolies or through government bureaucracy is fatal to a world of free personalities, then one will naturally look into the claim of consumers' cooperatives that they are making free enterprise live again. On what grounds is such a sweeping claim made? What is there about the many thousands of consumers' cooperatives as they are now operating in Europe, the Americas, and the Orient that enables them to foster and promote free economic enterprise and indirectly freedom of personality? An examination of authentic reports suggests the following analysis of claims.

1. A consumers' cooperative develops on the basis of individual initiative and independent of government. It asks no special favors from government, no subsidies, no tariff protection. It opposes the philosophy of complete government ownership, also of government control except as the latter is necessary as a means of "traffic" regulation of business. A consumers' cooperative is a group of persons freely and voluntarily associating together in order to furnish certain goods or services or both to themselves at the lowest reasonable costs (any surplus is returned to all members pro rata according to the amount of their respective patronage).

⁴ For an outstanding treatise on the nature of free enterprise, see Barbara Wooten, *Freedom under Planning* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945). Chapters II-IX are especially important.

2. Cooperative business decentralizes control. It distributes control by placing it in the hands of every consumer who is willing to assume any degree of responsibility. It achieves this goal through distribution of ownership and through making its share capital available in small units to all who will purchase it. The patron without funds to purchase share capital is credited with patronage refunds until one or more shares are paid for. It is that form of capitalism which decentralizes capital to every member of every community, if he will accept the opportunity.

3. Cooperative business frees groups from oligarchical tendencies. It limits the number of shares that any one person may purchase and limits the franchise that any one shareholder may exercise to one vote. Moreover, it limits the return to capital to "a fair rate of interest." It does not allow speculation in shares, for the latter are not permitted to rise above par value. Money and economic power do not accumulate in a few hands but are spread out to every consumer who participates. Private property is safeguarded by making possible the ownership of private property by every citizen.

4. Since cooperative business is owned and operated by an ever-increasing number of individuals in each community in which it has developed, it reacts vigorously against the enslaving practices of many monopolies. Being controlled by consumers, cooperative business does not adopt anticonsumer practices. The consumer-owners naturally will not take advantage of themselves, and they will not cripple their own freedom. Being human, consumers seek through their cooperatives to increase their freedom in all directions where the purchase and production of goods and services are involved. As a result they grow in the exercise of personal freedom.

In many countries, such as Sweden or the United States, cooperatives have demonstrated how they can protect

genuine free enterprise. Time and again they have overcome the unnecessarily high prices of the trusts and cartels, not only for themselves but for every consumer of the given goods in a given region or nation. They not only do not develop the antisocial procedures of monopolies but they overcome such schemes. They have achieved this goal not alone for themselves but for all consumers involved without any expense to the public and without government having to resort to the passing and enforcing of antitrust laws. They have kept prices in line with costs without the need of OPA's. They keep control in the hands of the people themselves rather than under the direction of government departments which must maintain widespread staffs of enforcement officers and which may become bureaucratic.

5. Cooperative business encourages fair competition (a corollary to free enterprise). It willingly meets fair competition from any quarter. Its own practices are conducted aboveboard and according to the principles of human well-being. It engages in no underhanded "deals" with any business group. Its motto is not "the devil take the hindmost," or "live and let live," but "live and help live." Its slogan is not "God helps those who help themselves," but "God helps those who help each other to the development of all."

While it subordinates competition, the cooperative encourages free competition as one of the means necessary to keep economic activity on a high level of efficiency and usefulness. The cooperative favors what is known as a "mixed economy," that is, the coexistence of private profit enterprise, private cooperative enterprise, and public enterprise. It does not seek a monopoly for itself as a form of private enterprise. It believes in a division of economic activities on the basis of free competition between all constructive enterprises. It assumes that each will find its own field of efficiency on the basis of its

superior ability to meet certain economic needs. It favors whatever form of enterprise in each field of human need is most favorable to the development of all consumers, of the whole public, of all groups of people. In short, it believes in free competition between types of enterprises as the best means of keeping each type, whether cooperative or not, up to its best efforts.

In summing up this discussion, it may be said that free enterprise under the aegis of consumers' cooperatives has as its controlling goal the welfare of no special class but of that universal class, all consumers, or all classes. It freely puts the needs of the many above the gain of a few. It avoids the evils which so often have given "free enterprise" a bad name. As far as it goes it makes government ownership unnecessary. It is to be distinguished from collectivism, for in it ownership rests in the individual members, whereas under collectivism of any type ownership is held by the collectivity.⁵ It escapes the suppression of the individual's freedom which so frequently results when either "big business" or "big government" is in the saddle.

The free enterprise of consumers' cooperatives is guaranteed through subjective controls. They are found in personal aims, purposes, and goals that put human needs and welfare ahead of all other motivations. These are aroused through education and from within the individual's life rather than by fiat through laws and from without.

If one of the basic freedoms⁶ is economic freedom, then consumers' cooperatives by virtue of their practice of free enterprise would seem to deserve thoughtful consideration by economists, business representatives, and especially by

⁵ Cf. E. S. Bogardus, "Cooperation versus Collectivism," *Sociology and Social Research*, 30:52-55, September-October, 1945.

⁶ The underlying nature and importance of freedom have been summarized by Louis Petroff in his article on "The Sixth Wish: for Freedom," *Sociology and Social Research*, 25:526-37, July-August, 1941.

statesmen, not to mention the general public. In a recent address to a national organization of farmers, Clinton P. Anderson, Secretary of Agriculture, stated that "cooperatives are the very essence of free enterprise in that they actually represent groups of farmers acting together for the purpose of carrying on their free enterprise more efficiently."⁷ Whatever furthers economic freedom, the freedom to own at least a small amount of private property, the freedom to buy and sell freely on an open market, merits attention. Whatever promotes economic freedom without fostering license is a boon to mankind. Whatever restores democracy in any phase of their lives to people is in line with the basic principles upon which every democratic nation was founded. To a surprising degree cooperatives qualify in these and similar particulars and hence they are bound to spread.

In creating free enterprise consumers' cooperatives do more: they create freedom of personality, and herein is found their great sociological significance. Through their membership in cooperatives, persons grow in self-expressiveness. They enjoy something of the spontaneity of being free persons.⁸ Either as owners or as workers or as both in a consumers' cooperative, they speak with full-throated voices and know something of the joy of living free lives, dedicated to their own well-being expressed within the framework of the well-being of all other human beings. Such are some of the claims of consumers' cooperatives as exponents of free enterprise.

⁷ At the annual meeting of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives in Chicago in January, 1946.

⁸ Cooperatives release that freedom which Leo R. Ward refers to when he states that "man is born for an elemental freedom which no state can touch" (*op. cit.*, p. 20).

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

CLARENCE RICHARD JOHNSON

1886-1946

Clarence Richard Johnson, Professor of Sociology at Bucknell University (1924-30), died suddenly of grippe and complications at Saranac Lake, January 31, 1946.

He was born at Rumford, Rhode Island, October 20, 1886, the son of the late Martin and Amelia Johnson. He attended East Providence public schools and graduated from Brown University in 1909. After leaving Brown, he studied for two years at Harvard Divinity School and spent two years in travel and study in Europe. During World War I he served as secretary of the YMCA World Committee in France and Switzerland, and later made use of this experience in writing his doctoral dissertation on the subject of prisoners of war.

Professor Johnson taught French at Colby College, Maine, before accepting a call as professor of sociology at Robert College, Constantinople, in 1921. While there, he married Miss Lomie Lee Smith of Vicksburg, Mississippi, who survives him.

In 1924 he became professor of sociology at Bucknell University, where he remained until ill health forced his retirement. In 1928 he received his Ph.D. degree in sociology at The University of Southern California.

Professor Johnson's published works include a survey of Constantinople, conducted while he was at Robert College and published under the title, *Constantinople Today* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922) and a pamphlet, *Prisoners of War* (Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1941). While living at Saranac Lake for the past several years, he and his wife published inspirational booklets *Thoughts with Wings*. At the time of his death he was working on his fourth booklet.

A genius in the practical art of human relations and therefore a rare and gifted teacher, Professor Johnson kept in touch with hundreds of his former students and associates. They cherish the memory of his radiant spirit and unfailing generosity.

MEYER F. NIMKOFF

Bucknell University

Pacific Sociological Society

The Committee on Nomination of the Pacific Sociological Society wishes to announce that the following persons have been elected as officers for 1946-47: Dr. Calvin F. Schmid, president; C. W. Topping (Northern Division), Audrey K. James (Central Division), and Leonard Bloom (Southern Division), vice-president; Virginia J. Esterley, secretary-treasurer; Hubert Phillips and Fred R. Yoder, members of the Advisory Council.

SOCIAL THEORY

THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL. By HERMAN FINER. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1946, pp. 121.

Every citizen of the United States may well be interested in the organization and work of the Economic and Social Council, for this Council has been given an important role to play in the UNO. The Council has the opportunity to make studies of, and recommendations concerning, any economic, social, cultural, educational, and health matters of an international nature. This book describes these functions and relates the work of the Council to the other activities of the UNO. It will serve as a useful reference work.

WHAT IS CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION? By JOHN BAILLIE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945, pp. 59.

One of the eminent theologians of the English-speaking world here grapples with the question of the nature of "Christian civilization." The three chapters deal with the historical relations of Christianity and civilization, the Christian attitude toward contemporary civilization, and the future of the West. Professor Baillie is never one to write superficially, and the book has occasional insights of unusual depth. Yet somehow or other the book fails to clarify the question which constitutes its title. In part, this failure may be traceable to the author's borrowing his topical sentence from a speech Mr. Churchill made on June 18, 1940: "The Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization." Professor Baillie nowhere indicates precisely how far he agrees with the implications of Mr. Churchill's speech, but on the other hand he does not indicate any extensive awareness of the fact that many so-called "Christian" values are to be found equally honored (and equally ignored perhaps) in many "non-Christian" countries.

It may well be that modern man is becoming aware of his own nakedness. Professor Baillie is justifiably concerned about this, as are many people, both Christian and non-Christian. But the human or ethical ideal is presumably universal for all men and surely does not depend for its reality on a purely Christian interpretation. This attitude is simply enlarged denominationalism. At a time when we need to move into world community and world government, is it not a trifle unfortunate that we insist on using Christocentric labels when discussing a problem that is as wide as humanity? Professor Baillie states that in the war effort against the Nazis "the nations most indebted to the Calvinist tradition have proved themselves the most resolute of the peoples of the West." Yet

does the world need people of "resolution" so much as people of widened insight? It is at this point that more honest searching on the part of Western Christians needs to be done.

Professor Baillie has put his finger on several of the specific sore spots in our life today. "Such is the tragedy that has overtaken so much of our common life—that it belongs nowhere, has no spiritual home, no ultimate standards of reference, and little definite conception of the direction in which it desires to move." There is a contradiction between modern "mass society" and a true sense of community. He holds that there cannot be true community without an underlying faith in a supporting reality. All this is to the point. But the discussion must become much more penetrating and ecumenical than it is at present in theological circles if genuine world-mindedness is to replace idealized provincialism wearing "Christian" theological dress.

FLOYD H. ROSS

THE GREAT RETREAT. The Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia.

By NICHOLAS S. TIMASHEFF. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1945, pp. 470.

The author is an erudite Russian scholar who undertakes a profound analysis of the Communist regime in Russia and comes to the conclusion that it has proved a failure. In the introductory chapters he demonstrates that prerevolutionary Russian society was rapidly advancing and that the Communist Revolution was a shock inflicted upon it, compelling it to depart from its historical ways. The author subdivides the Communist Revolution into four phases, "two ascending and two descending": (a) War Communism and the Second Socialist Offensive, which were characterized by deterioration, and (b) the NEP and the Great Retreat, with traces of amelioration. "The efficacy of the economic system," according to the author, "has fluctuated in inverse ratio to the intensity of the application of Communist methods." Extreme Communist methods produced economic disaster; their mitigation permitted the economic system to recover and improve. During the first seventeen years the Communist government made great efforts to destroy the pillars of Russian pre-Revolutionary society—the family, the school, and the church—discovering finally that the majority of the Russian people proved immune "against the propaganda of new family relations and atheism," and that the achievements were only partial. On the other hand, these efforts to destroy proved to be detrimental to the Communistic system itself and created much trouble for the government. Thus the Communists came to the conclusion that the pillars of society had to be restored. From the beginning of the regime up to the time of the War with Germany the Communist government adopted an antinational policy

towards Russian culture, suppressing and persecuting everything pertaining to Russian nationalism. But with war on the horizon this policy "was entirely rejected and replaced by the very opposite, making flaming patriotism one of the basic virtues."

The author, therefore, sees a Great Retreat, a decline of Communism in Russia. According to him "the past few years have witnessed a complete elimination of the achievements of the first seventeen years of the new regime directed towards the creation of a society of internationally minded proletarians." "When the necessity for reconstruction became clear to the Communists, they were unable to create new patterns, but directed society towards the revival of pre-Revolutionary institutions."

The book is full of interesting facts, the interpretation and the discussion of which are handled in a scholarly manner; but the attitude of the author is openly anti-Communist and of course will evoke considerable opposition among people even slightly sympathetic to the Communists.

IVAN A. LOPATIN

CARTOGRAPHY. By HUBERT A. BAUER. Boston: Bellman Publishing Company, 1945, pp. 32.

The nature and scope of cartography, cartography through the ages, present cartographic trends, the relation of cartography to the sciences, aptitudes for cartographic work, training to become a cartographer, employment opportunities—these are some of the topics that are outlined briefly in this work. The treatment is too brief for an adequate handling of the subthemes.

A MAN FROM KANSAS: THE STORY OF WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE. By DAVID HINSHAW. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1945, pp. xi+305.

This biography makes a wealth of details available for sociological analysis. It tells how a man developed a broad viewpoint of life and yet remained loyal to the small city in a rural area which was his home. It shows the influence of contacts with many people representative of many walks of life. Loyal to his political party, Will White rose above its shortcomings and urged its leaders to cease relying upon negative and defensive tactics. He urged that if they wanted to win over the New Deal, they must offer to the American public something better and more satisfying. In short they must offer a super-New Deal. But these leaders did not heed the journalist's voice from Kansas.

THE PROCESS OF PERSUASION. By CLYDE R. MILLER. New York: Crown Publishers, 1946, pp. 234.

This is a study of propaganda procedures: in influencing people, in inducing them, in winning them, in converting, in cajoling, in enticing. As one of the backgrounds of persuasion it considers the relation of persuasion to the conditioned reflex, and it describes persuasion as custom made. A number of methods of persuasion are considered, such as the "virtue" device, the "poison" device, the "together" device, and the testimonial device. Obviously striving to be popular, the author has defeated to a degree his major purpose of making a contribution to the understanding of propaganda. His deeper meanings are lost on occasion beneath the free and easy style, but his purpose is clear: "If people everywhere cannot quickly understand how the various devices together can manipulate them they can once more become tragic victims in a great catastrophe." Although "the Springfield Plan" has produced no Utopia since its inauguration in 1939 under the supervision of John Granrud, its significance is great if our author is correct in assuming that "if we can get ten per cent of the people to use their critical faculty and make their judgments in terms of humane goals, they'll influence enough of the balance to abort the persuasions that bring about panics and mass phobias."

INTERVIEWING FOR NORC. By the Interview Department. Denver: National Opinion Research Center, University of Denver, 1946, pp. ix+154.

In this manual, which is designed particularly for the interviewers employed by the National Opinion Research Center, the student of research in the field of public opinion will find a great many practical suggestions. In the section on "How to Get a Good Interview" these topics are included: creating a friendly atmosphere, the approach, obtaining the response, and reporting the response. Considerable importance is attached to the way in which questions are asked, and many warnings are made against errors that may creep into the interviewing procedure. In "How to Handle an Assignment," instructions are given regarding quota controls and stratified random sampling. Special rules are offered for rural interviewing, telegraphic surveys, and pretesting assignments.

The book fulfills its claims, and, in addition, it gives rules that a research interviewer may well take into consideration. It discloses that the value of interviewing depends on the intelligent formulation and use of questions and particularly on the honest adherence to a carefully analyzed interviewing process.

CIVILIZATION AND GROUP RELATIONSHIPS. *A Series of Addresses and Discussions.* Edited by R. M. MACIVER. New York: Institute for Religious Studies, 1945, pp. xiii+177.

In the Preface, the editor has succinctly reduced the major contributions of these addresses to their lowest common denominators. Karl N. Llewellyn points out that "the 'we-group' breeds exclusiveness against the 'they-group'" and thus ignores the larger community that includes both the we-group and all the they-groups. E. C. Lindeman develops the same thought, pointing out how functional groups may set group against group and increase social tensions.

Group discrimination, particularly against minority groups, leads to war. This is the thesis of J. S. Roceh. Our educational systems are not developing "the democratic concept of opportunity," according to E. DeS. Brunner. This inequality of opportunity places youth into stratified groups—the thesis developed by I. L. Kandel. R. M. Lynd shows how group discriminations have negated "the grand affirmations of democracy." Discriminations against the poor and against the Negro are outlined by J. P. Gifford and Mark Starr, respectively. Father John La Farge explains how myths stimulate group tensions. Bishop H. St. George Tucker points out how minorities may become accepted in the community; and Donald Young suggests means by which group discrimination may be overcome. Editor MacIver, in concluding the symposium, argues that the trouble is not with groups but with the relations between groups. The standard of these addresses is high and their suggestions are timely.

E.S.B.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. Edited by SEYMOUR E. HARRIS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945, pp. xii+424.

Vitally interesting and significant is this volume on a subject that concerns every citizen in the country. Twenty-three economists, experts in their respective fields of thought, were enlisted in the task of surveying the major economic issues confronting the United States in the immediate and long-run future. Their views on these issues were given first in lecture form at Harvard University's Graduate School of Public Administration, and have now been made available to the public in this volume. The economists have all been employed by governmental agencies in recent years, so that they have been able to bring practical experience to bear upon what they have to report.

Editor Harris offers the lectures in a series of six, namely, general aspects of the situation; special problems of reconversion; controls; monetary and fiscal problems; international economic relations; and social security and contributions by the government. In an introductory

chapter he states the vital economic issue affecting the United States, i.e., "Can this country afford the luxury of a free-economy society?" He reports that these economists are hopeful that the system of free enterprise will survive, but that they are also aware that the strength and resiliency of the system will be tested as never before. They seem to have reached agreement on the following propositions: (1) free enterprise will not survive unless there is employment for 90 per cent of those seeking work; (2) failure to spend significant sums on consumption and investment goods will start a downward movement; (3) reduced Federal expenditures in the postwar period must not be allowed to produce a downward movement from which recovery would be impossible.

The lecturers have all contributed valuable and challenging materials. Some have given a gloomy tinge to their expositions; others have given much hope. The volume is a worthy contribution to the study of concrete economic situations. Those who are interested in the maintenance of a free-economy society can hardly overlook this book.

M.J.V.

NATURE AND VALUES. By EDGAR S. BRIGHTMAN. Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1945, pp. 171.

The author analyzes "the spiritual conflict underlying the social turmoils of our age" in terms of nature and of personality, of atomic bombs and personal responsibility, of naturalism and personalism. The treatment of this conflict contrasts the world of nature and the world of personality, or one world (naturalism) with one world (personalism). The world of values is developed into "a resultant philosophy of life."

Dr. Brightman defines personality as "a changing, actively functioning experience in constant interaction with its environment," and a person as "a unity of complex conscious changes, including all its experiences, its memories, its purposes, its values, its powers, its activities, and its experienced interactions with its environment." Personalism, further, is "the belief that conscious personality is both the supreme value and the supreme reality in the universe," that "the universe is a society of conscious beings," and that physical energy is "God's will in action." Spiritual liberty reaches its best only on its highest level, that of cooperation, where persons know "the joy and strength that come from shared work." In the treatment of personality the sociologist would add to Dr. Brightman's interpretation an emphasis on the significance of status, the nature and development of attitudes, the significance of the meanings of experiences, and the role of the social situation. He would analyze further the development of and changes in personality in its spiral interactional experiences.

E.S.B.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY (MAY, 1945). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 421-563.

This is a special semicentennial issue of the *Journal*, designed to honor the occasion. There are fourteen articles by writers who are outstanding in their respective fields. Eight of the articles deal with the developments during the last fifty years in social psychology, social pathology, population studies, the family, racial theory, sociological theory, research methods, and human ecology. Professor E. A. Ross presents the article entitled "Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States." Several articles indicate the proximate future of American sociology and trends in sociology. Students in sociology cannot afford to overlook this issue.

J.E.N.

DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION. By BENJAMIN FINE. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1945, pp. iii+251.

Dr. Fine, Education Editor of the *New York Times* and lecturer in education at the College of the City of New York, writes this book with a plea—make a college education possible for all able to benefit from it. His faith in the ability of the colleges "to train men for better citizenship, to develop broader concepts of national and international attitudes, to improve the social and economic standards of the country" is strong. In preparation for his discussion of what democratic education is, he reviews the growth and development of the college, the conflicting views of those who want "democratic" and those who want an "aristocratic" education, and the results of a survey of what five thousand returned veterans want from college education. His argument for democratic education is wisely and judiciously prepared. It should win many adherents to his cause. College education, he insists, must be of an immediate and practical kind, teaching students to think and act intelligently. His point that college can help not only the superior but also the average student is well taken. A worthy contribution has been made here to the cause of democratic education and to democracy itself.

M.J.V.

YOUNG MAN, YOU ARE NORMAL. By EARNEST HOOTON. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1945, pp. xii+210.

Dr. Earnest Hooton, lively Harvard anthropologist, was asked to report and comment upon the six-year study (1939-1945) of the "normal young man" made by the Grant Study of the Harvard Department of Hygiene, and his answer to that request lies in this book. He begins his report with a smart but brilliant first chapter, embellished with humor that is genuinely humorous. What is a "normal young man"? The Grant

Study selected 268 sophomores in Harvard College who were fulfilling their college obligations satisfactorily and who were ordinarily in good mental and physical health to act as specimens for the study. The study was conducted by Dr. Arlie V. Bock and a group of co-workers drawn from medicine, physiology, anthropology, psychiatry, and sociology. Clinical methodology was used in exploring the physiques, health, social and economic backgrounds, intelligence, personalities, tastes and activities, worries and problems, and religious beliefs and attitudes of the young men. Dr. Hooten very properly emphasizes the relationship between physique and personality which the Grant Study recognized and which has escaped many another study of personality. The classification of personalities into well-integrated, less well-integrated, and overintegrated, seems to have been satisfactory. No forthright conclusions regarding the "normal young man" and his personality may be drawn from this report, but it does indicate a possible method for a clinical approach to the science of man. As commentator Hooten indicates, future studies should be extended to include the whole range of college undergraduates, both "normal" and "abnormal," at least for the benefit of the individuals who would then be in possession of the facts about themselves. The book is entertaining as well as instructive.

M.J.V.

THE COOPERATIVE WAY. By JAMES P. WARBASSE. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1946, pp. vi+184.

The veteran leader of the cooperative movement in the United States for the past thirty years, Dr. Warbasse, carries his readers through a stimulating discussion of the possibilities of world reconstruction and analyzes the cooperative method as the most democratic way to solve the world's perplexing problems. If economic life can be organized cooperatively, which means democratically, many of the worst ills of the world will disappear, in the judgment of Dr. Warbasse. Among the themes discussed the following are noteworthy: methods and meanings of cooperation, cooperation in relation to government, cooperation in action, and saving democracy.

The author sees rugged individualism in business giving way everywhere to state socialism or to fascism—a widespread tendency which he deplors. When government takes charge of industry and business, the freedom of the individual is sacrificed. But such a development is unnecessary, for cooperative principles have already demonstrated their practicality, their efficiency, and their ability to restore and to develop real democracy. Consumer cooperation is defined as "a method of democratic association whereby individuals unite to supply their needs directly by the practice of mutual aid." The book is lucidly written and is one of the author's best treatises for the general reader.

E.S.B.

RECENT TRENDS IN ENGLISH PRECEDENT. By JULIUS STONE. Sydney: Associated General Publications Pty., Ltd., 1945, pp. vi+76.

This book will be a chapter in a forthcoming work, *The Province and Function of Law*, which as a whole may be classified under the philosophy of law. It will no doubt have some value for students of the sociology of law, in which there is a growing interest. The portion here published deals with fallacies of the logical form in the interpretation of the French Civil Code; fallacies of the logical form in the uncodified modern Roman law; the English judicial achievement in relation to social change and fallacies of the logical form; and, finally, logic and justice in recent English precedent. The work serves as a comparative introduction to the civil law. It is richly annotated with references to cases and commentaries.

J.E.N.

LOOK TO THIS DAY! By EDWIN DILLER STARBUCK. Assembled and edited by the Staff of the Institute of Character Research, The University of Southern California, Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1945, pp. 427.

As explained by the editors, the volume contains selections from both published and unpublished writings of Dr. Starbuck and is designed to present "a portrait of the author." Each of the five sections, which are organized into a sequence, is keynoted by a trenchant statement of the author: "Know Thyself"; "The Culture of Personality"; "The Religion of Humanity"; "The Tools of Culture"; and, last, "Purely Personal," containing poems, quotations from letters, and messages to friends. The appendixes include discussions of research projects and methods and a bibliography of the published writings of Dr. Starbuck.

Three full-page charts picture in graphic form some of the basic philosophy presented in the book. The first one is "The Progressively Integrating Personality." Based on urges and drives, it rises through symbols of meanings, re-enforced by both evaluative and quantitative judgments, to "personality, self, character," and points to the latter's relationships to the "universal order," defined as "Spirit of the Universe, Truth, Goodness, Beauty." The second chart is designated, "Three Basic Elements of Personality." These elements, the objective of character education, are stated as "self-realization, socialization, and idealization." Dr. Starbuck says that "relatively few persons attain all three of these life-objectives." The third chart, "Paradoxes of Personality or The Harmony of Opposites among the Drives," centers in "The Golden Mean," flanked by "Too Little" (lurking evils such as greed, inertia, frustration, false humility) and by "Too Much" (lurking evils such as egoism, sensuality, mob-mindedness, sentimentalism, wastefulness).

The book mirrors a life rich in its contributions to science, to education, and to philosophy. The editors are to be congratulated upon their discerning judgment in both the selection and the organization of the material.

B.A.MCC.

THE BILL OF SOCIAL RIGHTS. By GEORGES GURVITCH. New York: International Universities Press, 1946, pp. 152.

The author indicates the need for a world-wide "New Deal" and points out certain weaknesses and failures of democracies during the period between the two world wars. Democracy in the world of tomorrow, in his view, will have to be social as well as political, or there will be no democracy at all. The basic concepts of a Bill of Rights are therefore discussed as essential for social democracy. In the second part of the book, the author presents a blueprint of a Bill for Social Rights which he proposes for consideration in connection with a new constitution for the Fourth French Republic. He emphasizes the rights of men as workers and consumers, complementing their rights as citizens. He also suggests that the same instrument or parts thereof, with some modifications, would be suitable for incorporation in a World Bill of Rights.

J.E.N.

CREATIVE DEMOBILISATION. Vol. I: Principles of National Planning. By E. A. GUTKIND. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. 331 (A volume in the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, edited by Dr. Karl Mannheim).

This book is devoted to national planning in England and draws upon many sources for illustrative material but especially upon the experiences of Russia and the United States. The principles and the suggested programs and methods have special reference, however, to England. National planning in agriculture and industry is defined and related to both rural and urban areas and, in turn, to the region and to the nation as a whole. The concepts of decentralisation and dispersal are defined, and their significance for new plans for both town and country and for new settlement types is explained. Finally, the importance of population problems is briefly presented. Creative demobilisation is defined as an integral part of the National Plan. A number of diagrams, plans, and photographs are offered in illustration.

The significance of social relationships points to the organization of small units. Mr. Gutkind says, "The city as such is a social organism but not a social unit; . . . the neighbourhood unit must be made the realisation of a community." "The noblest aim of national planning is to shape the environment of man according to his social needs as an individual and

as a social being. A social relationship cannot be set up at the command of some authority or other, however enthusiastic it might be. It must grow." The author believes, however, that the physical structure of the community and adequate provisions for social centers will help to stimulate direct social contacts. Here we note the similarity to some of the neighborhood plans being promoted in the United States, especially in urban redevelopment schemes.

Twelve principles of planning, all of them necessary, are summarized briefly. Lack of space forbids their repetition here except for the first one: "National, regional and local planning must be integrated. They must proceed simultaneously and according to similar principles in urban and rural areas."

B.A.MCC.

JUSTICE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. By EMIL BRUNNER. Translated by Mary Hottinger. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945, pp. x+304.

This analysis of justice, both in its principles and its practice, emphasizes the religious approach. The author insists that the Christian theologian must undertake his share in the work of reconstructing social life. He traces the disintegration of the idea of justice in the Western World and shows how it inevitably resulted in the totalitarian state, which in its very essence is the negation of the rights of man or of any eternal standard of justice. It is obvious, according to his thesis, that there must be a reorientation and rehabilitation of justice in terms of Christian principles. Furthermore, justice is as broad as social life, and must find expression in the political order, the family order, the economic order, and, in its fullest meaning, in the international order. The ultimate fulfillment of the law as an expression of justice is shown to be the love of God as revealed in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Although it may be pointed out, in review, that an analysis of justice would require other approaches besides that of religion, the contribution of this author is scholarly and worthy of careful consideration.

J.E.N.

PRINCIPLES OF DYNAMIC PSYCHIATRY. Including an Integrative Approach to Abnormal and Clinical Psychology. By JULES H. WASSERMAN. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1946, pp. xix+322.

Part I presents a critical summary of the various psychiatric and psychoanalytic theories of behavior. Part II integrates these theories into a biodynamic theory of behavior. In the biodynamic exhibit are included several "principles" of behavior, such as the principle of motivation, the principle of environmental evaluation, the principle of substitution, and the principle of conflict. Attention is given to modes of therapy that utilize the biodynamic principles; criticisms of biodynamics also are discussed.

The author expresses special indebtedness to Dr. Adolf Meyer. Considerable "case" material is included. The data that involve experiments with animals support the author's contention that "biodynamic theory must cover the whole range of behavior from amoeba to man." The idea is also supported that a person's environment is "in effect a projection of the individual's own concepts and interpretations upon his surroundings." Although this point has merit, it is not to be accepted to the neglect of various environmental stimuli which play continually upon the human organism from before birth and which must be given at least equal consideration with biodynamic factors. An excellent bibliography (31 pages) and a glossary of psychiatric terms (40 pages) are appended to this outstanding and up-to-date work on psychiatry. E.S.B.

AGRICULTURE IN AN UNSTABLE ECONOMY. By THEODORE W. SCHULTZ. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1945, pp. 299.

This is a research study for the Committee for Economic Development. The author presents a concise analysis of the conditions affecting agriculture and the problems of agriculture in an expanding and fluctuating economy. This is followed by a study of governmental programs and controls, and of the problems in agricultural policy. Special attention is given to the maladjustments between agriculture and the rest of the nation's economy. The problems of overcrowded and underproductive employment, and the chronic instability of income, have their origin in the growing dependence on the exchange system. The author gives considerable attention to the human factor in agricultural problems. Professor Schultz is both an economist and a sociologist. At present he is professor of agricultural economics, University of Chicago. Those who are interested in a careful analysis of such aspects of the farm economy as the unequal expansion of supply over demand for farm products, the existing farm product price policy for guiding production, the distribution of the labor force, the effects on agriculture of industrial expansion and of imports and exports, and the various governmental programs to aid farmers will find this book valuable. M.H.N.

A HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY. By BERTRAND RUSSELL. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945, pp. xxiii+895.

The author has succeeded in writing a history of philosophy which may be understood by one who is not a special student in philosophy. His is a thoroughly readable volume. Moreover, it is attractive reading because of its directness and clarity of style. Whenever the author wishes to interpret an unusually difficult concept, he devises a simple analogy involving two persons who are engaged in a give-and-take relationship.

The book is highly selective with reference to points that are chosen for presentation, but any work that essays to cover 2,000 years and more of philosophy must necessarily choose and omit. The personal opinion of the author is introduced freely, thus adding to the interest which the book will hold for many readers, but yet making it necessary for the reader to consider these opinions discriminatingly.

Although the book is built around the ideas of particular philosophers and schools of philosophy, the author attempts to present these in terms of the times and conditions when these men lived and the schools flourished. He defines the field of philosophy as lying between that of science (all definite knowledge) and theology (dogma, which surpasses definite knowledge). Such a delimitation of the field of philosophy will not be acceptable to many students of philosophy. They will not agree that philosophy should be relegated to a no-man's land. They will not accept the contention that philosophic questions lie between those which "science cannot answer" and those to which theologians give confident answers. Some philosophers will object to the omissions in the book, such as the absence of reference to personalism. They will claim that the author's free-thinking has led him to ignore important philosophical emphases, and they will question his rule of giving space to a philosopher, not on the score of the worth of his ideas, but on the score of his influence. The book merits a wide but sharply discriminating reading. E.S.B.

CREATIVE DEMOBILISATION. Vol. II: CASE STUDIES IN NATIONAL PLANNING. Edited by E. A. GUTKIND. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. 280 (A volume in the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, edited by Dr. Karl Mannheim).

The second volume of *Creative Demobilisation* is a compilation of articles which interpret and illustrate the subject of national planning as developed in the first volume. These articles "express the personal opinions of their authors." They are grouped under general headings which correspond to the principal chapters of the earlier volume, such as "Human Geography," "Agriculture," "Industry," "Decentralisation and Dispersal."

Included are case studies of Wales, especially of the mining areas, of rural Scotland, and of various areas in England. Other articles deal with postwar policies concerning utilisation and administration of land, industrial reconstruction, electrification, reconstruction of towns (war industry centers and centers which suffered bombing), and with the redistribution of population.

The second volume re-emphasizes the fact that both American and English planners are thinking in terms of local-regional-national relationships, not overlooking the impact upon them of international situations. Besides, the concept of planning goes far beyond the consideration of land usage and the drawing of a design for the physical structure of a community. Social and economic aspects, governmental organization, and cultural attitudes and values are all interlinked in planning for a people living in a dynamic world.

B.A.MCC.

WORLD ORDER: ITS INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS. A Series of Addresses. Edited by F. Ernest Johnson. New York: Institute for Religious Studies, 1945, pp. ix+247.

Among the topics treated are these: collaboration for world order, by Louis Finkelstein; the philosophy of world community, by Edgar S. Brightman; toward a new concept of man, by Irwin Edman; human differences and world order, by Margaret Mead; the task of cultural rebuilding, by Pitirim Sorokin; world citizenship, by Norman Cousins. Twelve other addresses on vital themes related to a new world order are also included.

These addresses contain a noteworthy stock of new ideas or at least of old ideas retailored to fit the new world need that has arisen suddenly with our dropping of atomic bombs upon the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. John C. Bennett, in a discussion of the Protestant churches and the world order, emphasizes three essentials for the immediate future. These are the political reconstruction of the world on a world basis and not by power politics; the development of an adequate economic base for that political reconstruction; the safeguarding of freedom for the individual in all countries. Cousins adds that "the biggest obstacle to world unity is not the actual formation of a suitable organization" but the formation of a unity of mind in the world that will permit such a world organization to develop and function. All in all, the volume has considerable educational value that is greatly needed today.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL WELFARE

AMERICA'S ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. By EMIL LENGYEL. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946, pp. xiv+318.

This book, says the author, is an attempt to clarify our thoughts about America's role in the postwar world. There are ways in which the United States may help the world avoid past mistakes, and not least may be the influence of the American way of life. Emphasis is therefore placed

on certain American ideals, such as recognition of the worth of the individual, concern for the welfare of others, and the principle of the intelligence, potential or actual, of every man. It is shown that there have been changing phases in the American pattern of life and that the country is at present in a new phase, but that, as a whole and in general, American trends are incompatible with the dictatorial developments in other countries in Europe or Asia—which in some respects would be debatable. There is a sketchy treatment of American policies in connection with the Monroe Doctrine, the open door in China, European affairs leading to the two world wars, American relations with Russia, the development of world organization, and significant peace problems. The discussion, which is frank and stimulating, is on a level for high school students. It is doubtful whether the fanciful, streamlined titles for chapters and some subsections add any value to the book; on the contrary, simple, straightforward captions would be preferable. J.E.N.

HOME OWNERSHIP, IS IT SOUND? By JOHN P. DEAN. Foreword by ROBERT S. LYND. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945, pp. 215.

This book is a frank discussion of home ownership in America, including the processes of sale, purchase, and financing. Back of individual values is the cultural value of home ownership, long established as a kind of social compulsion linked with status and thrift. Too little consideration, however, is given to the wisdom of a particular family's purchase of a particular property.

Mr. Dean recommends the discouragement of those who cannot wisely buy. Much of the current advice offered is not impartial, coming as it frequently does from interested parties who may profit directly. He suggests more careful inquiry into the ability of the mortgagee to carry the loan, an impartial counseling agency, and a housing program which through rental would provide for those families "who cannot find what they want without buying." He also suggests objective appraisal service by an impartial agency, greater flexibility in mortgage payments when income is lost, low interest rates, and more effective local planning of new real estate developments. Another interesting suggestion is a housing exchange to prevent loss when unforeseen changes require the immediate sale of a family's house. One of the most valuable ideas, it seems to the reviewer, is the importance of a philosophy of housing which sees the house not as "a machine for living" but as "a home" providing the immediate family environment. In other words, there is need for a philosophy of family and home.

This book is important in the fields both of housing and planning. Nowhere else has the reviewer encountered so logical a statement of the hazards of home purchase. The style is readable, and the statements are variously pungent, sarcastic, dramatic, and considered. The logic of the presentation is irrefutable. The book is recommended to individual would-be home purchasers, to government employees having anything to do with any phase of housing, to legislators, to social workers and reformers, and even to realtors and building concerns and bankers and investment brokers who perhaps may be stimulated to an honest consideration of their social responsibilities to their fellow Americans!

B.A.MCC.

LABOR TODAY AND TOMORROW. By AARON LEVENSTEIN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945, pp. xiv+253.

Informative, impartial, and objective is this discussion of the present and future of labor as set down by Aaron Levenstein, member of the editorial staff of the Research Institute of America. Taking the well-known case of Sewell Avery of Montgomery Ward as symbolic of the conflict between business and labor, the author manages to give a good analysis of the roles of government, organized labor, and business as these have been enacted in the war years. Many interesting revelations are disclosed about the Avery episode, making for lively but gossip-like writing. Levenstein's device succeeds in depicting the confusion that everywhere was dominant in the situation. Labor leaders, business leaders, administrative officials, and Congressional members were all groping in quest of a formula to bring some kind of order into the industrial situation. Real order never came, but by some kind of legerdemain the war efforts were successful. With the war over, the situation has once more become dangerous for prolonged industrial peace. The expansion of governmental control from 1935 onward is well traced. Business fancied this control was centered upon itself, but the control eventually engulfed organized labor. The author upholds the nation that both parties want *laissez-faire* policies in easy times, but that both want governmental assistance in critical times. This was also true of the period of the Industrial Revolution. The truth is that neither labor nor business can decide whether government is friend or foe. It all depends upon who is running the governmental show. The task ahead, declares Levenstein, is to redefine the privileges and duties of the individual, government, business, and labor.

M.J.V.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK. Selected Papers, Seventy-second Annual Meeting, 1945. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. x+470.

From the initial paper by the president, Ellen C. Potter, M.D., on "The Year of Decision for Social Work" to the concluding paper on "Techniques of Social Action" by Paul F. Benjamin, this annual volume measures up well to the standards set in the past years. The Editorial Committee has rendered splendid service in choosing and cutting down papers, for each paper is marked by a high degree of precision. The publishers also deserve credit for the excellence of style in printing.

The papers are arranged under general headings, such as Social Work Faces Broad Issues, Social Work Serves the Returning Veteran, Next Steps in the Public Social Services, Social Work Considers Problems of Organization, Social Work Serves Children, and Social Work Thinks Through Its Responsibility for Social Action. Although some of the papers bear well-known and much-used titles, indicating that certain social problems are recurrent if not continuous, others are more or less new, such as Teen-Age Centers, Dependency Deferments in Selective Service Administration, Social Services in Labor Unions. The fact that the National Conference is thinking of changing its name shows a significant trend, for the leading proposal is National Conference of Social Welfare. The rise of public welfare services is a partial explanation for the proposed modification in name.

BUILDING YOUR MARRIAGE. By EVELYN MILLS DU VALL. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 113. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1946, pp. 32.

Getting married is not difficult; it is a required first step, but the real building of a marriage is done later and requires a great deal of time and much skill and good will. Marriages that work out best involve couples who have had similar backgrounds, who know each other well, who are emotionally mature persons, who have a common goal outside themselves. In-laws need not be a menace and war marriages need not fail. Quarreling between husband and wife may be carried on constructively. "Building a marriage is no child's play"—for childish persons.

PSYCHOANALYZE YOURSELF. A Practical Method of Self-Treatment. By E. PICKWORTH FARROW. With a Foreword by Sigmund Freud. New York: International Universities Press, 1945, pp. xv+157.

The social psychologist may find interest in this book because of its emphasis on emotions and on how they become imbedded and how they may be released. The sociologist may find a number of hints which will be of help to him in gathering life histories and interpreting interview

materials. The therapist may find suggestions regarding the use of the free-association method of curing mental disturbances. The story is the old one of repression in childhood with resulting neurasthenic conditions in adulthood, and of how certain individuals obtain relief through free-association expressions. In general, however, the sociologist will remain skeptical of psychoanalysis as a cure-all for personality problems.

POSTWAR GOALS AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. Edited by ARNOLD J. ZURCHER and RICHMOND PAGE. New York: New York University, 1944, pp. xii+304.

The fourteen addresses included in this volume are part of the proceedings of the Second Series of Conferences of the Institute on Postwar Reconstruction at New York University. Though the approach taken is primarily that which concerns postwar enterprise for America, the principles and conclusions may be applied generally to other nations. Among the problems aired are the wants of labor, postwar public works, economic expansion, tax policy, the public debt, the control of monopolies, the promise of technology, monetary stabilization, foreign relief, the liquidation of war production, and investment as related to foreign trade. Some of the problems which now test the efficiency of the United Nations Organization were anticipated in the discussions at the Conferences of the Institute, and these papers are still timely.

J.E.N.

RADIO IN HEALTH EDUCATION. Prepared under the auspices of the New York Academy of Medicine. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 120.

Although the radio is a highly developed industry, radio health education is still in a pioneer stage. The Committee on Medical Information of the New York Academy of Medicine initiated a special study to ascertain the possibilities of using the radio in health education; the study was made possible by a fellowship grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Experts in radio, education, medicine, and public health were interviewed. There was full agreement regarding the responsibility of medical organizations in presenting accurate, factual health information to the public, but the majority of those consulted felt that the type of material now broadcast on this subject is mediocre. The report outlines the chief objectives of health education, suggests techniques of broadcasting the material, and emphasizes that the broadcasts must be directed to the radio audience to have the widest appeal.

M.H.N.

A PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER OVERSEAS. By IRENE TOMAS.
New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1945, pp. 46.

In this document an alert Red Cross worker with psychiatric training brings to the reader a wealth of firsthand data concerning the life and problems of soldiers in hospitals overseas. The stories are real and disclose the inner battles that soldiers fight after being wounded and hospitalized. Vivid also are the accounts of how one social worker went about her opportunities of helping the wounded men to get hold of themselves again and fostering the desire to participate in active life once more.

RACES AND CULTURE

WARRIORS WITHOUT WEAPONS. By GORDON MACGREGOR. Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. 228.

Warriors Without Weapons is "the second of five integrative studies of Indian personality." This one presents as a background a brief history of the Sioux Indians, stressing the extensive changes and deprivations that have affected their social life since they were forced onto the reservation. The study evaluates the effects of these changes and of the present social conditions of the Sioux on the personality development of children and adolescents. The field work involved intensive examination of a sample of Sioux children representing both sexes, all age groups from six to eighteen, various degrees of Indian-white mixture and of socioeconomic status. Data were secured by interviewing the children and their associates and through responses to a battery of psychological and personality tests, some of which were devised especially for the study.

The author concludes that because of the cultural deprivations and conflicts of present Sioux life the typical child has a personality which "seems crippled and negative, as if it rejected life." The book is an important contribution to our knowledge of the relations between culture clash and personality. Its grim picture of reservation life indicates an urgent need to revise Indian policy.

This study and the series of which it is a part also constitute an important forward step in cooperative social research. The results of this collaboration between the Office of Indian Affairs and the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago show that both action and research interests stand to gain by joining forces. The author of the present volume is an anthropologist, but one of his chief collaborators is a psychologist. Such close interdisciplinary collaboration characterizes the whole series. All the chief authors, moreover, have benefited from the assistance of a staff representing all the social sciences and human biology.

J. E. WECKLER

IRAN. By WILLIAM S. HAAS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946, pp. vii+273.

With Iran in the storm center of near-Eastern politics and struggling to attain freedom from the British sphere of influence and at the same time not to be taken into the Russian sphere, this book on the country and people of Iran—their religion, government, and economic situation—is most timely. Ever since Teheran was chosen as the meeting place of the Big Three, Persia, under its new name of Iran, has been on the front pages of American newspapers.

The chapter on "Persian Psychology" is worthy of special mention. The Persian has been unusually successful in meeting adverse circumstances, whether due to "the hostility of nature" or to the tyranny of his own rulers. Life becomes at times a great game of chance with the obstacles of nature and of man, and the game has reached the level of complicated stratagems. Persian humor is "more than witty"; it has been developed as a means of self-defense or of extrication from difficult situations. It is used "to frustrate hostile surroundings." Persian attitudes center in the democracy of equality and in the love of distinction. The chapter on "The Cultural Situation" emphasizes the importance of the emancipation of women, the development of architecture, the growth of secondary schools. The future is bright if international politics do not cast a blight over Persian love of freedom.

THE RISE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF NEW YORK: 1654-1860.

By HYMAN B. GRINSTEIN. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1945, pp. xiii+645.

The present volume is a sociohistorical account of the development of Jewish community life in New York from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. (The author has promised a second volume to complete this study and bring it up to date.)

Dr. Grinstein has brought to light a wealth of material, primarily from sources dating back to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He is well versed in the "growing pains" of New York Jewry and the forces which mold sectarian communities—from Germany, Spain, England, Russia, and Poland—transplanted upon American soil in the early days. He traces—at times with overabundance of detail, at least for those who are not students of history—the internal and colorful development of the Jewish community, its synagogue government, religious leadership, social organization, economic structure, disruptive forces, culture conflicts among the subgroups, social outlook, and wider responsibilities toward Jews the world over. It is evident from this study that Americanization among the Jews was never a superficial process. The principles of democracy took deep root in Jewish culture.

The book is well written and shows insight into the complexities of orthodox and reformed Jewry founded on highly divergent European cultures. The author has a rare degree of objectivity, something seldom achieved by writers on problems of their own cultural groups. The study is well documented and has an extensive, carefully compiled bibliography of manuscript material, primary and secondary sources in Hebrew, German, and English. There are two very interesting maps of old New York and fifteen photographs. The book should prove of value to all students of community organization, social movements, and the development of Jewish culture in the United States.

PAULINE V. YOUNG

DICTIONARY OF STANDARD MALAY. By VERNON E. HENDERSHOT.
Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1946.

This *Dictionary of Standard Malay* will be hailed by everybody who wants to engage, or has already engaged, in the study of the *lingua franca* of the Malay Archipelago. It not only fills an urgent need in our country but also is an excellent piece of scholarly work. Most of the material thus far available for the study of the Malay language has, of course, appeared in Dutch, and the so-called standard works of a lexicographical nature were likewise written primarily by Dutch and German scholars. In America we have particularly felt the lack of Malay dictionaries prepared in the English tongue. Hendershot's grammar, *The First Year of Standard Malay*, has been a trail blazer for what is called "Standard" Malay; his efforts have now reached an acme in his *Dictionary of Standard Malay*.

The dictionary, Malay-English, contains more than 5,000 Malay words, well selected, and a large number of terms based on them, derivations, compounds, and phrases. It also includes a goodly number of colloquial and specialized terms; it is up to date to such an extent that it lists the latest military, journalistic, and radio expressions known to Java and Malaya.

After probing carefully into the nature of the words included, one is forced to admit that the selection has been made with the greatest care and scrutiny. Another important feature is the fact that words of Sanskrit, Arabic, Hindustani, and European origins are so labeled. This is most useful, just as it is, for instance, helpful and advantageous to know which English words are of Latin and Greek origin.

The several Appendixes are useful too, but I should like to suggest that the number of automobile terms should be increased in a later edition. Also the list of geographical names could be made richer. Appendix VII

contains excerpts from Hikayat Abdullah, an outstanding nineteenth-century contribution to Malay literature. Although it assists the student in his acquisition of a more exhaustive vocabulary of Malay words, I would rather see it attached to Hendershot's grammar, *The First Year of Standard Malay*, or, still better, to his *The Second Year of Standard Malay*, which is in preparation.

There is no doubt that this dictionary will remain for many years the indispensable dictionary of all American students of the Malay language. Having been in close contact with the Malay tongue over many years and having increasingly felt the need for a dictionary that is practical, modern, and well arranged, I am delighted to see that we now have one that should be found in every classroom where Malay is taught.

HANS NORDEWIN VON KOERBER

ESSAYS IN ANTHROPOLOGY. Edited by J. P. Mills et al. Lucknow: Maxwell Co., pp. viii+268.

Twenty anthropological papers by an equal number of writers are brought together in this volume as a tribute to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, who, after many years of humanitarian work while in the legal profession, retired and turned to anthropology as an outlet for his energy. The fruits of this labor evidently command general respect. The papers assembled here represent great range in subject as well as method, including basic concepts, culture change, conflict, studies of brains, religion and ethics, myths, Vedic civilization, sex taboos in primitive society, sociological superstitions. Although some of the papers are specialized and limited to the Indian locality, others are of broader academic interest for students of the social sciences.

J.E.N.

NATIONALITIES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES. By OSCAR I. JANOWSKY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945, pp. xix+232.

The author is interested in the minorities problem in east-central Europe, where the people are not homogeneous in language, culture, or national backgrounds. To try to attain unity through suppression or elimination—by forced migration—will engender strife and endanger the peace of the world. Therefore the author advocates the multinational state for this region and analyzes the situations in Switzerland, South Africa, and Soviet Russia as examples of what might be accomplished in the Balkans, namely, political and economic unity but full recognition of cultural differences.

It is not clear how the author would obtain economic unity in the Balkans, where extremists of the right and of the left fly at each other's throats at the slightest opportunity. His treatment of cultural pluralism seems quite inadequate and unworthy of its social significance. However, the position that enforced assimilation is not attainable is sound. The slower and more indirect method of accommodation is necessary; otherwise, peoples of diverse cultures are thrown back into a defense of their differences. Once the differences are given leeway, people begin to regard one another in a more favorable light and, indirectly, acculturation begins to take place.

E.S.B.

THE LAST TREK OF THE INDIANS. By GRANT FOREMAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. 382.

The author has not only traced significant migrations of the Indians within the United States from early days to contemporary times but has humanized the study by his concern about their social, economic, and political problems before and after the migratory movements. As one would expect, it was no easy matter for the Indians to tear up their roots in ancient home sites, to leave the graves of their ancestors to almost certain neglect on the part of the whites, and to shift for themselves in new lands; yet the encroachment of the whites left them no choice. The book is commendable for its national scope in the presentation of Indian migrations, for valuable data concerning the Indian census at different periods, and for its description of the nature and extent of their economic possessions. The second part traces the movement of the Indian nations to Oklahoma. The author has become well known for his research in Indian life, and especially with reference to the situation in Oklahoma.

J.E.N.

SOCIOLOGY OF TRISTAN DA CUNBA. By PETER A. MUNCH. Oslo, Norway: Konnisjon hos Jacob Dybwad, 1945, pp. 330.

In these published findings of a Norwegian Expedition to Tristan da Cunha, 1937-1938, the sociological student will find many specific data of interest. Only one of the four islands is inhabited, and on this island the total population is about two hundred, or about thirty-five families. Not more than three or four ships stop at Tristan in a year, and hence the inhabitants, who are chiefly of English ancestry, are well isolated on their relatively barren island home, which lies about equidistant between Cape-town and Buenos Aires. A person accustomed to the hurly-burly of modern city life would soon become frantic from loneliness on Tristan, but the Tristanites do not mind the isolation, for, as they say, "We are

used to it." When the investigators tried to apply psychological tests to determine the mental ability of these people, it was found that the best of such tests could not be used, even though the islanders spoke and read the English language and had grown up in an English tradition, because, as a result of the life that has developed in relative isolation, many of the ordinary English words have acquired a different meaning from what they have in England or the United States.

The monograph presents data on nearly every phase of life of the little group of people who are huddled together on one side of an island which is almost a perfect cone of a volcano and which projects its head above the vast expanse of the south Atlantic. Many are the interesting facts presented, for instance, "crime is practically unknown," and conventionalism rules with a steady hand. Again, "their solidarity is weak because they seldom come into contact with other people."

E.S.B.

EASTER ISLAND. By ALFRED METRAUX. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1945, pp. 18.

"The most isolated spot ever inhabited by man" is "slowly being eaten away by the waves." It supports only about 450 Polynesian half-caste people, who belong to Chile but who have forgotten their past, and whose home, Easter Island, lying 2,000 miles west of Valparaiso, is synonymous with mystery. The giant stone statues, weighing tons and standing forty or fifty feet high, add to the mystery of the Island. Just as amazing are the Easter Island tablets, perhaps used by chanters, which testify to the relation between design and symbol. Here, slowly but surely disappearing, is one of the few remaining preliterate human groups of the earth.

A NATION OF NATIONS. By LOUIS ADAMIC. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945, pp. 399.

The author sees the United States as a combination of the "democratic-government idea and the diversity of peoples," which has created a nation that "is bounding and seething with strength and vitality." The United States is a land of "simultaneous tension and fusion of stubborn differences." The author holds that "the United States is not essentially Anglo-Saxon" but "a blend of cultures from many lands." Hence, in a dozen chapters he gives descriptions of individual immigrants from various countries (a chapter is devoted also to Negro Americans). It is not clear why he begins with Americans from Italy and ends with those from Ireland. Americans from Mexico, Spain, France, Holland, Sweden, Russia, Germany, Yugoslavia, Norway, Greece, and Poland are included, but the reason for the order of presentation is not evident.

Literally thousands of facts about persons, chiefly persons of some importance, are crammed into these pages. The result is a personalized history of the lives, including the struggles and achievements, of countless human beings who have left their widely spread homes and come to the United States, contributing their all to our national mosaic. The author is at work on another book, which will deal with immigrants from the lands not mentioned in this one; the two taken together will constitute an important treatise on the nature and backgrounds of the people of the United States.

E.S.B.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE. By ROBERT H. LOWIE. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1945, pp. 143.

This book gives a concise social portrait of the German people to 1914, with emphasis on their culture and social psychology. Parts I and II are introductory, and indicate the principal characteristics of their language, their racial criteria, and their general cultural development before 1871. The third part, concerned with Imperial Germany, describes the political system, education, material conditions, the nature and function of the social classification, religious influences, and the world view of the German people from 1871 to 1914. Although the author describes German culture with insight gained from long familiarity with the subject, his main purpose has been to indicate the nature of the attitudes of Germans of different classes and at different times.

J.E.N.

BRAZIL: PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS. By T. LYNN SMITH. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946, pp. xxiv+843.

It would have been more accurate if this book had been called "The Sociology of Rural Brazil." The author's title may lead the reader to expect more attention to urban life as found in cities such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Of course, rural life plays an extensive role in Brazil and its study merits all the attention that Professor Smith has given it. Of the many books that have appeared in English on Brazil in recent years, this is one of the best, either as sociology or as a general study of rural life in Brazil. Many interesting photographs and drawings arouse special attention.

Brazil is analyzed as a "cultural mosaic," for it is noted for its cultural diversity. Considerable attention is given to what is called "fire agriculture" and to the relation of the people to the land. Seven chapters describe the people of Brazil in terms of racial composition, fertility, mortality, and immigration. The institutions of the family, the school, the church, and the state are effectively described. The future of Brazil

depends on the development of medical and sanitary techniques, of technological methods, and of a more equitable system of economic distribution. Brazil may well put more money into education and send more graduate students abroad for scientific training. A glossary of Brazilian terms (Portuguese) is a valuable addition to this basic study of life in Brazil.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL FICTION

ARCH OF TRIUMPH. By ERICH MARIA REMARQUE. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1945, pp. 455.

Paris in the spring and summer of 1939! The prelude to the swan song of the Third Republic could be heard in its alleys, streets, boulevards. Spanish, Jewish, Russian, Polish, and even some freedom-loving German refugees were carrying on a furtive existence in its third-rate hotels, escaping from their catacombs at dusk to merge with the life of the city. Paris trying to forget the imminence of disaster. Paris with its night clubs trying to be gay before being guillotined, its brothels catering to deadened pleasure seekers, its avenues filled with sinister figures lurking about as if sizing up their future victims. Such is the Paris of Erich Maria Remarque's new novel, *Arch of Triumph*, a story of despair and disenchantment.

Its chief character, Dr. Ravic, German surgeon, exile, victim of Gestapo torturer Haake, is living, surrounded by a group of political refugees, at the worn-out Hotel International, not too far removed from the Arc de Triomphe. Here he carries on a precarious existence. His surgical ability enables him to earn a little, clandestinely, through the courtesy of old Dr. Veber. Veber's well-to-do patients never knew that they owed their lives to an exiled German surgeon. Ravic was allowed by Veber to earn a bit more by tending to the prophylactic needs of the girls at the Osiris. His good philosophic friend Morosow kept him busy in the early evenings playing checkers. In asides, they discussed the fate of Europe. Unwanted love crept up to him in the person of the neurotic actress and singer, Joan Madou. Their love affair proved to be a tortuous one, furnishing brief moments of happiness for both. Whatever else might have happened to their love was set aside when Ravic sighted his one-time Gestapo inquisitor, Haake, in the streets of Paris. From that moment the man-hunt begins, and Ravic centers all his energy upon his plan to trap Haake. How he finally avenges himself upon Haake and loses Joan is told with the same characteristic dramatic intensity and artistry which made Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* such a powerful and moving tale.

Among the characters that add luster to the story are Boris Morosow, ex-officer in the old Czarist army and now doorman at the Scheherazade; Madame Rollande, supervisor of the girls in the Osiris, waiting for a strategic moment to marry into respectability; and Eugenie, the taciturn nurse at Dr. Veber's hospital, who views Ravic with cold suspicion. The refugees at the International are all drawn with skilled craftsmanship, and, seen through the eyes of Ravic, they depict the dying hopes, the suffering and black despair of Europe in the grip of an approaching tidal wave of hatred and stupidity. Remarque brings a penetrating understanding of the situation to this excellent novel. It ends on the keynote words of Ravic as he is being carted away to a French internment camp: "Human beings can stand a great deal." Even the Arc de Triomphe could not be seen in the enveloping darkness.

M.J.V.

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